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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

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INTRODUCTION

The Indian History Congress held its Twentieth Session at Vallabh Vidyanagar in Gujarat during the Christmas week of 1957, under the joint auspices of the Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth University and the Charutar Vidya Mandal, the educational society which has been doing pioneering work in the field of rural education for the past several years. To meet at this centre of culture in the new town which has been brought into existence out of what was a wilderness with their magic wand by the late Shri Bhikabhai Patel and Shri Bhailalbhai Patel, builders of this rural University, was a rare and unique experience in itself. It was impressed upon us how a few universities of this character having as their objectives the uplift of the rural population and spread among them of higher learning can do to achieve the cultural transformation of the country-side. It was therefore only in the fitness of things that the Session should have been presided over by that moving spirit of Indian literary and cultural revival, Dr. K. M. Munshi. It was also appropriate that Shri Y. B. Chavan, Chief Minister, State of Bombay, should have, in inaugurating the Session, passed in review the glorious achivements of the Bombay scholars in the field of historical research over the years, and drawn attention to the unique opportunities that are still awaiting the future scholars in this part of the country.

A number of papers of outstanding merit were presented at this Session, breaking new ground and adding much to our knowledge of Indian history. Some of these contributions could indeed do honour and credit to scholarship anywhere in the world.

As usual the majority of the papers are contributed to the Ancient History Section. In his Persidential address to the Section Shri C. Sivaramamurti makes a powerful plea for the study of cultural history of India, which is of prime importance for understanding the genius of a people. Dr. Sunil Charan Ray demonstrates the importance of Damodaragupta's Kuṭṭanimata as a source for the economic and cultural history of Kashmir in the 8th and the 9th centuries A.D. In an important contribution Dr. R. S. Sharma examines the irrigation system in the post Maurya period, and comes to the conclusion that

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irrigation was left to private initiative, and that beyond inflicting punishment on those who caused damage to the system the state did nothing to start irrigation work on its own.

The article of Shri M. Radhakrishna Sarma on the gable and the three other architectural members—Karnakuta, Panjara and Sala—is an important contribution to our knowledge of ancient Indian art and architecture; while the architectural finds, described by Shri K. D. Bajpai, which includes a lion-rider, shows traces of the extraneous Persepolitan influence on Indian art during the Kushana period.

The chief contributions, however, are to the political history of the period. Dr. Upendra Thakur examines the historicity of Rama Gupta, and suggests that in view of the fact that even the Bayana hoard has failed to yield a single coin of Rama Gupta, the theory that he succeeded Samudra Gupta be abandoned.

In a very important contribution MM. Dr. V. V. Mirashi attempts to solve the knotty problem connected with the identification of King Ādityavardhana mentioned in an undated inscription from Mandasor (ancient Daśapura) of King Gauri. He identifies Ādityavarma with the king of the same name who belonged to the Aulikara family. This dynasty ruled at first from Daśapura, and then transferred its capital to Ujjayini. MM. Mirashi maintains that far from being ousted from Daśapura by the Hūṇas, as has been suggested, Ādityavardhana or his immediate predecessor may have conquered enough territory to the south of Daśapura and then shifted his capital to Ujjayini. Daśapura was thereafter made over to his feudatory the chief of the Manavayani family. MM. Mirashi has thrown much light in the course of his valuable paper on an obscure period in the history of Malawa during the closing years of the fifth century A.D.

The history of South India has claimed the attention of two of our esteemed contributors, Shri Satyanarayana Rajaguru and Dr. N. K. Sahu. Shri Rajaguru treats of the period from A.D. 360 to 510 during which then Māṭharas assumed supremacy over Kalinga following the expedition of Samudragupta. Towards the last part of their rule they substituted for their original title of Kalingādhipati, the more magniloquent style of Sakala-Kalingādhipati. Dr. N. K. Sahu describes Kalinga under two of its earliest Gaṅga kings, Indravarma and Sāmantavarma, who bore the title of Kalingādhipati, and were powerful rulers. Shri A. Krishnaswami treats of the history of the Sambuvarāya chieftains who ruled over the present Chingleput and the North and the South Arcot districts. The Sambuvarāyas waxed powerful in the

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service of their Chōḷa overlords, and endeared themselves to the people by their beneficent activities such as founding of villages, construction of temples and endowing them with rich gifts.

An ingenius solution to the problem of the place of Ādityavarma in the genealogy of the Chalukyas of Badami is offered by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. Ādityavarma is mentioned in a copper-plate grant from Karnul district as a son of the celebrated Pulakēśin II. As is well known, Pulakēśin inflicted a defeat on Harshavardhana, the Uttarādhipati, and forced him to withdraw to the north, and his Chalukya kingdom with its capital Badami, is eloquently decsribed by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. But the reign of Pulakēśin ended in a disaster. Narasiṁhavarma I, the Pallava king, defeated him in battle, overran his kingdom, and captured the capital. The fallen fortunes of the family could be restored only after a protracted struggle of over a decade by Vikramāditya I, the son of Pulakēśin. This is an important achievement which entitled him to assume the proud style of sva bhuja bala-parākrama-akkrānta-sakalamahīmaṇḍal-ādhirājyah (possessing the supreme rule over the whole circuit of earth which had been overcome by the strength of his own arms and prowess), a style which is not borne by his brothers Chandrāditya, Raṇarāgavarma and Jayasiṁha, though they are known to have played their part in Chalukyan history. Now it is curious that Ādityavarma alone is given this title—a circumstance which inclines our author to believe that Ādityavarma was the same as Vikramāditya. Dr. Mahalingam maintains that the expression Ānivārita Vikramāditya which has been generally taken as the name of Vikramāditya be better translated as 'Āditya of unopposed valour.' This rendering would make Āditya the original name of the ruler and Vikramāditya or Āditya of (unequal) valour the title he assumed in consequence of his resounding victories, thus making it possible that Āditya was the same as Ādityavarma.

In his Presidential address to the Medieval History Section Prof. Mohibbull Hasan describes the progress achieved in the history of medieval India in recent years. It is heartening to note that Barani's *Fatuwa-i-Jahandari*, a book on political thought, has been translated into English and will shortly be published in the *Medieval history, Quarterly* Aligarh, and that a number of other works such as *Waquiat-i-Mushtaqi*, *Khairu-Majalis*, and Javhar's Taziratul-Waquiat which contain a fund of information on the social, political and military history of Medieval India are being edited at Aligarh.

One of the most important papers to the Medieval section and probably in the whole volume is the one by Prof. Hasan Askari, one of our foremost scholars in Medieval history, entitled 'Medicine and Hospitals in Medieval India.' In this magistral dissertation

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which is based partly on unpublished sources, Prof. Askari asseses the contribution of Ihdian Muslims to modern surgery and medicine. In this sphere of knowledge the Indian Muslims, like their co-religionists elsewhere, drew their inspiration from the exhortation of the Prophet in the Quran : ' Get yourself treated, for God has not inflicted diseases upon us without at the same time giving us the remedy ? ' And they proceeded to evolve a new system known as the *Unani* system by combining the best elements from the Greek, Persian and Indian systems of medicine. A number of treateses were produced, and it is interesting to observe that the historian Qasim Ferishta himself wrote a compendium of medicine, diseases and their cure called *Dastur-ul-Atibbā* according to the Indian system. Hospitals and convalescent homes called ' Shifa-khana ' and ' Sihal-khana ' were familiar sights in the Muslim kingdoms. In these institutions skilful physicians, able doctors, trained attendants, surgeons, oculists and eye-doctors were employed, and medicine food and drink were supplied to the patients at state cost.

The centenary of the outbreak of 1857 being the topical event of the year the scholars working in the modern period of our history naturally focussed their attention on this topic and a number of papers were presented on the subject in the Modern History Section. These studies are of varying importance ; but the paper of Dr. Ghosal where he emphasizes the economic causes of the movement will be read with increasing interest.

In a learned and well thought out contribution Dr. K. K. Pillay examines the view held by writers like Savarkar and Hariprasad Chaudhari that the Vellore Mutiny of 1806 was practically a rehearsal of the later outburst. He proves conclusively that the Vellore Mutiny was the result of the political ambitions of the mediatized ruling family of Tipu and the discontent among the Poligars, who had been earlier compelled to forfeit their possessions for rebellion, and that it would therefore be hardly described as a movement of national proportions or character.

In an interesting paper based on contemporary documents and records of the Government of India Dr. Dharma Bhanu describes the hazards of travel in the present Uttar Pradesh in the middle of the nineteenth century. He describes the mode of travel of the well-to-do classes, for whose journey, strangely enough, the Post Office provided.

Of interest to constitutional history of India is the paper of Shri Dayal Das in which he discusses the attempts made the British authorities in India to implement the Act of 1832 which authorized the

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Governor-General in Council to appoint persons not belonging to the covenanted service of the Company as Justices of Peace. Before long under Metcalfe three Indians were appointed to this office, of whom two were Hindus.

Going through the papers printed in this volume one will surely be struck by the fact that all the periods of Indian History have succeeded in holding the attention of the scholars, albeit not in the same measure, with the single exception of the history of the Marathas. And yet this is one period of Indian history in which there is a superabundance of published source material, while with the merger of the Maratha states of the Deccan a mass of unpublished state paper of first-rate importance has been brought within the reach of the scholars and still awaits scrutiny and investigation at their hands. Here is a field where indeed the harvest is plenteous but the labourers are few.

Concluding, we wish to thank the authorities of the University of Bombay and in particular Prof. G. D. Parikh, Rector of the University, for the facilities they most graciously offered to have this volume of the Proceedings of the Twentieth Session printed at the University Press. We are also thankful to Mr. V. G. Moghe, Superintendent, and Mr. A. M. D'Souza, Deputy Superintendent, and their efficient staff for executing the work with their usual skill and care. During the brief period of three months that were at our disposal we have tried to edit the volume as best we could with an amount of care that was possible under the circumstances.

Bombay
Elphinstone College Day
20th December 1958.

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MESSAGE

RASHTRAPATHI BHAVAN,
NEW DELHI.

Date : 24th Dec. 1957.

I send my best wishes to the Indian History Congress on the occasion of its 20th Session to be held at Vallabh Vidyanagar.

It is my earnest hope that the great nation-building activity which characterises our country at present inspires our historians in their efforts to present a faithful history of this country's past, even as our past has ever goaded us on to fresh endeavours to enrich the present.

I wish the session success and hope our historians the best of luck in their undertaking.

RAJENDRA PRASAD

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ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Shri Bhailalbhai D. Patel

Vice-Chancellor, Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth

Chairman of the Reception Committee

Mr. President, Shri Yashavantrao Chavan, Delegates to the Indian History Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure in extending a cordial welcome to the eminent historians and keen students of history who have assembled here as delegates, and to the visitors to the 20th Session of All India History Congress. It is for the second time that the Indian History Congress is holding its session in Gujarat; the first time it met at Ahmedabad, the old capital of Gujarat. Ahmedabad is a city that has kept up cultural traditions in spite of its industrial development in modern times. Today the Congress is holding its deliberations in a land noted for its sturdy agriculturists, valiant fighters, whose sacrifice in the cause of independence of our mother land is known all over the country. It meets now under the auspices of the Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth at Vallabh Vidyanagar. As the Vice-Chancellor of the University and as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is my pleasant duty to welcome you all to this land made holy by its association with men like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri Vithalbhai Patel of revered memory.

Gujarat which linguistically and culturally includes Saurashtra and Cutch is an extremely rich field for the students of History. Man had existed as a hunter and food-gatherer in Gujarat for about 2,50,000 years. His tools have been discovered from the Valleys of the Sabarmati, the Mahi, the Narmada and their tributaries. These rivers have preserved in their cliff sections the history of the various fluctuations of climate in the Pleistocene period specially of Gujarat and of India in General. Many streams of Gujarat such as Ambika, Kim, Dhadhar, Vatrak, Meshvo need to be carefully surveyed and interpreted.

The details of the life, the conditions and the environment of the persons using tiny tools, the microlith, still await the spade and perspira-

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tion of the archæologists. The successful forging of links between the cultures of the Indus Valley and Rangpur thanks to the discoveries at Lothal has opened new vistas of study in the cultural history of Gujarat. The study of the Chalcolithic and Proto-historic and of the early historic periods of Gujarat also require to be tackled in near future.

The traditional history of Gujarat and specially of Saurashtra is closely connected with Krishna and the Yadavas. But the first historical records of the land are the rock edicts of Aśoka preserved near the Hills of Girnar. This rock has preserved besides the edicts of Aśoka two other historically important documents, the inscription of Rudradāman and that of Paṛṇadatta, a Governor of the Emperor Skandagupta.

After the Guptas the history of Gujarat develops into the political struggle of small states of Maitrakas, Gurjaras, Saindhavas, Chālukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas. This period saw the successful fight of the Gujarat ruler Avani Janāśraya Pulikeśi against the Arab armies, which were thoroughly defeated.

The rise of the Chaulukya rulers at Anhilvad Patan opens a new chapter in the history of Gujarat. The cultural and historical material preserved from this age goes on increasing as one comes nearer to our own times. The Chaulukyas also successfully defeated the Tajjikas and maintained their independence for a long time, even though other states in North India had been overpowered by the Muslims.

The Muslim period of Gujarat history shows a triangular struggle of the Gujarat Sultans against their powerful neighbours, the foreigners, and the still powerful Hindu states in Gujarat. This struggle continued throughout the later period of history, and Gujarat put in a strong fight against the invading armies of the Marathas and the British. The same heroic spirit of Gujarat was seen in the struggle for Independence of India when it was led by its great leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The historic Satyagraha in the district of Kaira, launched by stalwarts like Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, shook the foundations of British Imperialism. It was the beginning of the end. The successful Satyagraha Campaign at Bardoli where unarmed people once again resisted the bayonets of the British soldiers is another landmark in the history of Freedom Movement in India. Thus Gujarat has amply shown its martial spirit and tenacity throughout the long span of recorded history.

The efforts of Gujarat in the sphere of cultural activities are as remarkable as they are numerous. The Gujaratis are known as a business community all over the country. Their activities in trade can be traced back to the period of the development of the riverside port of Broach

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and possibly the sea port of Dwarka. The evidences of trade with the Roman Empire have been traced by the discovery in Gujarat of Roman coins, caves, bronze handle and pottery with strong affinities to the provincial Roman ware. The Indian traders continued these trade relations with the Near Eastern countries from where glazed pottery and even glassware were imported to India and a variety of things Indian were exported. The navigators from Gujarat and Saurashtra were well known in the Arabian sea and ports, and according to tradition a prince from Simhapur went to Ceylon.

These merchants were responsible for the expansion and preservation of many cultural aspects of this region. Painting, for example, was practically dying out from the Muslim court, but the art was preserved by the merchants and their associates. They encouraged the art of book illustrations and thereby preserved the indigenous tradition up to this day. The discovery of these illustrations from Jain and Brahmanic sources have established the existence of the Gujarat School of Painting.

Besides painting, Gujarat had an excellent tradition of architecture and sculpture. Specimens of the art of Gujarat are daily discovered by many scholars from all parts of Gujarat. The discovery of the Idar sculptures and of the excellent bronze hoard from Akota has helped to trace the history of the study of Gujarat sculpture to a period much prior to the rise of the Chaulukyan sculpture. The traditions of the Chaulukya period, as seen in the temples of Modhera, Abu, Siddhapur, Delmal, Somnath and other temples, were preserved by the stone masons and artists who later on worked for the common man.

Many buildings had beautifully carved balconies, door-frames, pillars, ceilings, and other parts of the building. These traditions were blended with the architectural features brought in by the Muslims. The result was the excellent Indo-Saracenic School of Gujarat, the specimens of which are seen at Ahmedabad, Chanpanair, Cambay and other places. This school of art, sculpture and architecture had in the Mediaeval period strongly influenced the neighbouring areas.

While cultivating these arts, however, Gujarat did not lag behind in literature. One of the greatest poets of Sanskrit, Magh, carried on his activities in Gujarat. Another all India figure is the great Grammarian Hemachandra, the Jain monk of the 12th century A.D. Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, the ministers of Virdhaval of Dholaka, were well known for their patronage of learning.

There were forces which developed the Gujarati language. I may mention the great poets like Bhalan, Narsimha, Premanand and Akho

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from the galaxy of Gujarati poets. The first Urdu poet of Gujarat, Vali, wrote his Divan at Ahmedabad. The Persian language was also cultivated in this land and books on History such as Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Mirāt-i-Ahmadī, Tārīkh-i-Sulamanī were written by Gujarati writers.

It is, therefore, befitting that the Indian History Congress should meet in Gujarat, associated, as Gujarat is, with numerous cultural activities. The laborious research of the Indian and foreign scholars has succeeded in tracing the history of India from the Mauryas to modern times. Now that India is free, every inquiring Indian would like to know the defects of our social and political structure that led to the defeat of Indians in practically all major wars against the foreign invaders during the last two thousand years. There must indeed exist some internal causes of our weakness; and it is very necessary that our historians make more serious efforts to discover them. This study will be the red signal to our leaders, warning them to be vigilent lest history should repeat itself. We must also carry out necessary research about the impact of each ruling dynasty on our social, agrarian and cultural set-up so that our future students may know to avoid the pitfalls. With these aims in view, the history books for future generations should be written.

Most of our teachers and volunteers have gone out to attend the various Sports Meets, N.N.C. Camps etc., and hence we have not been able to look after your comforts to the extent we would like to according to our traditions. I hope, you will please overlook the inconveniences, and help us to make this Session successful by your kind cooperation.

Once more I welcome you all to our town and hope that this Session will take us further in the progressive march of our country in the field of historical studies and research.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN

Chief Minister, State of Bombay

PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me in inviting me to inaugurate the twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress at this academic centre hallowed by the immortal name of one of the noblest heroes of our independence, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Although I am not a scholar, I am naturally interested in the history of my country, and I much appreciate your kindness in affording me this opportunity of welcoming you, the pick of historical talent in India, and of associating myself with your fruitful and weighty deliberations.

2. It is a matter of pride and gratification to all of us in the State of Bombay that the Indian History Congress was first launched in this State in the historic city of Poona and that its debut was signalised by the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala.

3. During the twenty-two years of its existence, the Indian History Congress has won world-wide renown by its devoted service to the cause of Indian History, and it is today the acknowledged forum of the historians of India.

4. The State of Bombay is indeed a historian's paradise, possessing as it does, rich archæological and archival treasures. Archæological studies could be pursued to advantage in any part of the Bombay State and evidence of the monuments could be utilised among other purposes for reconstructing the cultural history of our people for which there has been an incessant demand. We have in the Deccan the world famous Buddhist caves at Ajanta with their magnificent picture gallery. Though the latter was primarily intended to serve as a pictorial representation of the moving story of the Buddha, it none-the-less constitutes a living monument of the life in India as lived in those remote times.

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5. In like manner the Caves at Ellora, which are a Śaivite counter-part of Ajanta in the same region, are an index to the religious and secular life of the people in the succeeding period. The Rāshṭrakūṭas, who ruled over a great part of the country, had these caves cut out of the living rock as an imperishable testimonial to their dynasty. They endeavoured to press into its service the best artistic contributions of every part of India to which they carried their arms, and in doing so, they helped to produce an art which was as creative as it was national. It is not unlikely that what they achieved in art, they may also have achieved in other spheres of life.

6. Their Śilāhāra feudatories in the Konkan strove to emulate their example in this respect and raised an equally magnificent memorial, albeit of lesser proportions, at Elephanta, across the Bombay Harbour, which was their fortified capital and whose Maheśamūrti is ranked among the highest artistic achievements anywhere in the world.

7. The archæological material in Gujarat will doubtless have its own story to tell when tapped for the same purpose. Gujarat possesses artistic gems worthy of its great people in its temples of the Solanki and other periods of its early history which are supreme examples of the builder's art at its best. The monuments, both mosques and palaces, produced during the Muslim rule, show the intrusion of an alien influence into indigenous art which, though it had to bend before the storm for the time being, eventually succeeded in asserting itself.

8. In prehistoric archæology considerable progress has been made in the State of Bombay during the past few years. Excavations have been extensively planned by the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, and the work is being carried out in co-operation with the different Universities in the State. There are besides a Department of Archæology in the M. S. University of Baroda, and a State Department of Archæology with two archæological units, one at Rajkot in Saurashtra and the other at Aurangabad. Both these Departments have been doing field work. In Saurashtra, the results of their efforts are eagerly awaited for any further light they may throw on the extension of the Indus Valley Culture to that area. It will be recalled that a few days ago an ancient relic was discovered in Saurashtra bearing the Harappa characters. Interest in prehistoric archæology is spreading, and it is interesting to know that an Institute of Archæology was established here in Vallabh Vidyanagar in 1949, as part of the multifarious activities of our hosts, the Charutar Vidya Mandal.

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9. It is, however, in epigraphy that the Bombay Scholars have made their best contribution, and helped by their combined efforts to elucidate the early period of the History of India. The results of their study have appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Epigraphia Indica* and other periodicals, and above all in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, now the Asiatic Society of Bombay, which is the premier learned Institute in the State of Bombay. A brilliant galaxy of scholars, who distinguished themselves in this difficult branch of research, contributed to its pages—Fleet, Kielhorn, Bühler, Bhau Daji, Indraji, Bhandarkar and Telang.

10. The interest in Epigraphy kindled by these stalwarts has continued unabated, with younger scholars stepping into the breach as the veterans dropped out of the ranks. I am happy to draw your attention in this connection to a recent find of a copper-plate charter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Indra III in a village not far from Bombay, which is described in the *Annual Report af the Secretariat Record Office*, Bombay, for 1955-56. This charter which was issued in A.D. 926 for the first time mentions the name of an Arab feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, ruling at Samayana, *i.e.*, modern Sanjan, and shows in general the catholic outlook of those days.

11. Among the historical monographs published in recent times in which this vast wealth of epigraphical material is laid under contribution may be mentioned the *Ancient History of Saurashtra* by Dr. Miss Krishnakumari Virji, published by the Konkan Institute, Bombay, and the *Chaulukyas of Gujarat* by Dr. Asoka Kumar Majumdar, published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of which the moving spirit is also presiding at this Congress, has launched itself on an ambitious scheme of a comprehensive history of India of which five volumes have already been issued.

12. The Bombay scholars have made a considerable contribution to the medieval history of India, and their output, both in quality and quantity, compares favourably with the work done elsewhere in the country. Already in the early years of the last century Erskine, the first Hon. Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, had published his well known *History of India under the first two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Babar and Humayan*, Wilks produced his classic on the history of Mysore, Malcolm completed his histories of India and Persia, and Colonel Briggs translated Ferishta's History of Muslim powers. In our day the late Fr. Heras has given a learned account of the Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar, based on hitherto untapped sources and Prof. Commissariat has written the history of the Sultanate of Gujarat. But the Muslim powers that ruled over the Deccan have still to find their historian, while a rendering into English or Hindi of

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the *Arabic history of Gujarat* has long been a desideratum. We have in our midst institutions of learning such as the Islamic Research Association and the Anjuman-i-Islam Urdu Research Institute in Bombay, which, I am confident, will reap a rich harvest and render a lasting service to the country, if they include this study within the scope of their work.

13. The archival treasures in the State of Bombay are housed for the most part in the Secretariat Record Office, Bombay, and its subordinate agencies at Baroda and Kolhapur and other States merged with Bombay, the Alienation Office, Poona, and the Central Record Office at Nagpur. Efforts have been made to bring this valuable material within the reach of the scholarly public. Government have already published fourteen volumes of the Poona Residency Correspondence, ranging from 1785 to 1818, four volumes of Nagpur Residency Records from 1799 to 1840, not to speak of the documents relating to the Gaikwads of Baroda, published by Gense and Banaji from the Secretariat Record Office, Bombay, and by Shri Joshi from the repository at Baroda. Dr. G. S. Sardesai has laid the future generations of researchers under deep obligation to him, when at the instance of Government, he deciphered and published 45 volumes of State Paper from the Peshwa Daftar at the Alienation Office, Poona. This was indeed a marvellous performance, as the material now running into 8,000 printed pages had to be carefully sifted from rumals whose name is Legion.

14. It is obvious that full use of this material is not possible unless the records are properly analysed and catalogued. Accordingly, Government commenced the work of cataloguing with the *Secretariat Record Office* in 1940. So far one volume has been published entitled *Descriptive Catalogue of the Secret and Political Department series 1755 to 1820*, while another of the *Public Department series 1720 to 1820* is in progress. The magnitude of the task attempted will be realised when it is remembered that in the Secretariat Record Office alone, there are no fewer than 98,000 volumes and 3,80,000 files of records, while efforts are being made by the State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments to add to the collection historical documents in private custody.

15. It is not Government alone that has sought to rescue such records and make them available to scholars. It is the *glory of the State of Bombay that private effort has played an important part in the collection and publication of historical documents.* And it is only in the fitness of things that this *august assembly of historians should pay its homage to those noble spirits, to name only a few,—Kashinath Narayan Sane, Vasudeo Shastri Khare and Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade who*

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staked their all in salvaging the precious records of our history and printing them for the use of posterity. In his *Kavyetihasa Sangraha* Sane gave to his country 6,300 pages of historical material, consisting of twenty-two historical works, 501 historical letters, and nineteen Sanskrit books and ten collections of Marathi poems. Khare made a judicious selection from the Patwardhan Daftar belonging to the Miraj Junior State, and published it in twelve volumes covering 6,843 pages. A roving scholar, if ever there was one, Rajwade published twenty-two volumes of the historical records, which he had collected in the course of his numerous journeys, in his series Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sandhanen. He also wrote six historical works and published six volumes of miscellaneous writings. And realising at length that the work was beyond the powers of one individual, he founded in co-operation with Sardar K. C. Mehandale, a kindred spirit, the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala at Poona.

16. Search for manuscripts has gone on in other parts of the State as well. The Oriental Institute of Baroda has collected and catalogued 10,000 MSS, and so far published 120 critical editions of works in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa. These works are of abiding value for the study of history and culture of ancient India. Like the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, which is producing a critical edition of the Mahābhārata, the Oriental Institute is also enganed in the production of a similar edition of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, while the century old Gujarat Vidya Sabha of Ahmedabad has rendered valuable service to historical research by extracting source material from the Purāṇas and the Jaina Āgamas, in addition to its usual literary activities.

17. Thus a vast corpus of material from widely different sources has been gathered in the State of Bombay and placed at the disposal of the historical scholar. *This corpus will have served its purpose, if the historian would follow the twin counsel of our classical historian Kalhana, who wishes that history be interestingly written and truthfully told. The historian has to realise that he is not writing for fellow historians alone or a charmed circle of readers.* There is a *wider public which wishes to be and should be enlightened,* an object which the historian can achieve if he attempts to present his conclusions in terms both graceful and attractive. Then again, he will be able to achieve objectivity and produce an integrated picture of any given period, if he makes due allowance for the interaction of all the forces that have played their part in the national life. Any attempt to side-track or to stress the influence of one of these forces to the exclusion of all others is doomed to failure and will result in producing nothing but a caricature. Ranke, the greatest historian of modern times, has warned that "those who would conceive antiquity superficially, flatly,

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sinfully, do so to their own condemnation," and, describing the miserable lot that is in store for such a person, has further said: "Misery grows ever deeper, life more flat, thinking more numb. The inner-living spirit revenges itself because it was dispised."

18. It is my fervent prayer that this Inner-living spirit may guide and enlighten you and bless your deliberations.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. K. M. MUNSHI

I THANK you for the great honour you have done me by electing me as the President of the Congress this year. It was with very great hesitation that I accepted this honour, for I have no pretentions to being a historian. My lot has been cast in a humbler sphere; I have been utilising—may be with some success—the precious ore which you dig out of the past, only to make artistic little things for romantic young ladies to toy with during an idle hour. If, however, you have made a wrong choice, it is not for me to quarrel with you.

I think the time has come when this Congress should have a home. Quite a few academic associations of much smaller stature have already homes of their own. Perhaps your gaze is fixed on 'endless time and the wide, wide earth'; you are, therefore, quite content to have a name, but not a local habitation. But in these days of progress, the Congress can scarcely hope to gather strength unless it has a home, a library and a journal of its own. I do not know what you think about this suggestion. I leave it to you to consider it.

Only last year, when you were good enough to invite me to inaugurate the Agra Session of the Congress, I placed before you my views on history. I then dealt particularly with the valuable services rendered by our historians in restoring national self-confidence in the dark days of our bondage; with the danger of history being degraded into propaganda in these days of mass communications; with the supreme necessity of accepting the discipline of facts as the fundamental creed for the true and honest historian.

In this age, the greatest danger to which the historian is exposed is the imponderable pressure brought on the intellectuals by governments anxious to make history the hand-maid of their policies; by politicians who would make it the instrument of their personal or party ambitions; by the masses who have an appetite for palatable history suited to their passing tastes and whims. For instance, during the last year, we saw in this country, in connection with the celebrations of the Centenary of 1857, the attempts of historians to study the event; the attempts of the Governments to interpret it to suit their policies, and the worst,

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the attempts of the common man, through newspapers, to revile those historians who ventured to hold views which did not fit into their conceptions.

India, however, is a free country ; it is not difficult for a conscientious historian to defy this type of pressure. Unfortunately, there are several countries in the world where historians are denied this freedom. In the name of scientific approach, they are compelled to convert history into a tool for maintaining the political supremacy of a party or to make of it a vehicle for the ideology which is useful to the rulers of the day.

In these circumstances, it is but natural that the honest historian should feel it difficult to play an independent role. If he becomes an unconscious victim of the atmospheric pressure, he may, consciously or unconsciously, be tempted to compromise his intellectual integrity to please his academical or political bosses or to make a supplementary living by selling his books which would please the reading public. But the historian's role is not that of a sycophant nor of a court poet. His is to find the facts ; to study them with detachment ; to give a true perspective of the past unblurred by extraneous considerations ; and to draw such lessons from the facts he has gathered as his honest judgment would permit. Whatever the role, he should remain an uncompromising votary of truth—truth as he sees it through a conscientious acceptance of the discipline of facts.

II

The contribution of our historians, following in the footsteps of some great European historians, has been remarkable, particularly in the spheres of ancient and medieval history. Still much remains to be done. Comparatively little has been done in the sphere of modern history dating from 1818 when the Battle of Kirkee led to the destruction of the most powerful Indian kingdom of the day and opened the country to unfettered British occupation.

Most of the works on this period only reflect the popular view of the time during which they come to be written. I find in them a lack of perspective, a failure to see the events in the stream of time. I have seen few historians of modern India who do justice to the terrible popular frustration which followed 1857 ; to the solitary but splendid contribution made by Dayanand Saraswati to rescue the people from that frustration. They fail to appraise in a just measure the role of those broad-minded, mid-Victorian Englishmen who brought a new hope to the country or of men like Dadabhoy Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee and Phirozshah Mehta between the years 1890 and 1904.

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There is also a general disinclination to view in the right perspective the influence exercised by Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Dayanand and Vivekanand, Bankim and Ranade ; by the emotional content of the militant nationalism led by Lajpatrai, Tilak and Bepin Pal and of which Sri Aurobindo was the great apostle of vision and faith ; by Annie Besant who gave the impulse and the direction to the national movement, the harvest of which was reaped by Gandhiji after 1919 ; by the Indian Liberals and by the English statesmen of whom Montagu was the first and Cripps, perhaps, the last. Even the Gandhian phenomenon in such works is viewed either with ecstatic admiration or critical cynicism, without a detached view of its triumphs and failures or of its strength and weakness.

III

During the last few decades, history has tended to take the shape of isolated monographs or sectional presentation of a dynasty or a period, without relating the subject to all the available sources or to the general flow of events. No event, no dynasty or no period can ever be presented in a true historical spirit unless the facts are viewed in relation to the general life of the people concerned ; to their thought, religion, literature, laws, institutions, economic and social conditions, æsthetic, moral and spiritual values. Nor could such movements be viewed correctly except in the context of the flowing stream of time. History can play its role as a great human discipline only when, disowning the present tendency, it draws upon the testimony of all available sources including racial memory.

For instance, if Ancient India is of supreme importance in our life, its earliest period, in which its collective life acquired character and vitality, has to be viewed in a comprehensive manner. If I venture upon a speculation as to how it has to be viewed—which I fear is scarcely appropriate in a presidential address at this Congress—I hope to be forgiven.

Let us look at the period just preceding the Vedic. Broadly speaking, we find the country then occupied by three distinct races : First, the people of the copper-hoard culture (' Copper-hoards ' for brevity) occupying the Ganga valley, Vindhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa ; Secondly, the races of the chalcolithic culure living in Central and South India ; Thirdly, people of the Harappan culture (' Harappans '), distinct from the other two, who occupied the valleys of the Punjab rivers, and of the rivers of Gujarat.

The occupational deposits at Rupār and Hastināpur both indicate that about 1400 to 1300 B.C., a people distinct from the three races,

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using the Painted Grey Ware (' PGWs ' for short) came to occupy these sites, displacing the Harappans at one place and the Copper-hoards at the other. They continued to occupy both these sites for a period extending over 4 to 5 centuries ; later, these sites were abandoned and left unoccupied for about 200 years. Thereafter they were again occupied about the 7th Century B.C. by the people of the Magadhan culture associated with the well-known Northern Black Polished Ware ' NBPWs.'

The discovery of the occupational area of the PGWs, I am convinced, is one of the most important revolutionary contributions to the history of ancient India, pushing back its frontiers by about seven or eight hundred years.

Between the middle of the second millennium to about 8th Century B.C., the PGWs appear to have occupied sites spread out in different countries : in Thessaly in Greece, Shah Tope in North Persia ; in Seistan ; in several districts of East Punjab and U.P. ; in Delhi ; along the banks of Sarasvati (Ghaghar) right up to Bikaner. Unfortunately no excavations have been carried out in West Punjab, but I have not the least doubt that the occupational sites of PGWs are sure to be found in that part of Pakistan.

The area thus occupied by the PGWs in India was the very area occupied by the Vedic and the Epic Aryans, with Brahmāvarta as its core. Every important spot associated with the heroes and episodes of Mahābhārata has thrown up the PGW pottery. The immigration of the Aryans about 1350 B.C. is also corroborated by the treaties, records of which have been found at Boghaz Köi dated about 1400 B.C. ,one of the parties to which worshipped the Vedic gods.

Further, the cumulative evidence of texts like *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* and *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa* and some Purāṇas indicate that the Kurus met with a disaster from floods or hailstorm. This drove the Kurus, under the leadership of Nichakshu, the fourth in descent from Janamejaya Parikshit, to abandon Hastināpur and flee to Kausambi. The excavations at Hastināpur corroborate the fact that the occupational sites of the PGWs at Hastināpur were devastated by floods.

After Nichakshu's flight, Hastināpur remained unoccupied for about 200 years, till it came to be occupied by the NBPWs of the Magadhan culture from about 6th Century. The floods and the flight, therefore, might be placed about 850 or 800 B.C.

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The same fact is established in another way. Udayana, the King of Kausambi, eighteenth in descent from Nichakshu, was the contemporary of Buddha and perhaps of Bimbisāra and Ajātashatru. Giving 18 years to a generation as calculated by Pargiter, Nichakshu's flight might be dated about the same time, 850 or 800 B.C., roughly the date independently arrived at for the event by Dr. Raychaudhuri. Nichakshu being the fourth in descent from Janamejaya Parikshit, the Bhārata war can be placed about 950-900 B.C. From linguistic data, the reduction of *Vedas* attributed to Veda Vyasa is held by competent scholars to be of a date not anterior to about 1000 B.C.

Nichakshu again was the twenty-seventh in descent from Hastin, the founder of Hastināpur. Giving to each of the 26 intervening generations a period of 18 years—468 years which elapsed between the foundation of the city and the floods, form just about the period of PGW occupation of Hastināpur. The occupation of Rupār by PGWs was also approximately for the same period. The foundation of the two sites therefore can be dated about 1300, just a little after the time that the Later Harappans disappeared from the site at Rupār.

IV

All literary evidence indicates that Janamejaya Parikshit, who ruled over the Kurus from Asidvant, was an important figure of undoubted historicity. The Kuru-Pāñchāls, during his time, reached the height of power, prosperity and cultural greatness, which in the course of three succeeding centuries led to the magnificent efflorescence which India witnessed in the 6th century.

Working backwards from Janamejaya Parikshit, we have, between Vedic and Puranic testimony, a record of seventeen generations which account for 350 out of the 500 years during which the Aryans occupied Hastināpur. The generations are :

(1) Vridhyaśravā
|
(2) Pijavana
|
(3) Divodāsa
|
(4) Sudās-Vasishṭha-Vishvāmitra-(4) Jamadagni
|
(5) Shakti
|
(Vedic period ends here)

(5) Parashurāma
|

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(6) Parāśara—Shantanu
|
(7) Veda Vyāsa—Bhīshma
|
(8) Vichitravīrya
|
(9) Pāndu
|
(10) Arjuna
|
(11) Abhimanyu
|
(12) Parikshit (referred to in the *Atharvaveda*)
|
(13) Janamejaya (referred to in the *Brāhmanas*)
|
(17) Nichakshu.

All the available evidence, including that of race memory, therefore yields the following picture :

About 1500 B.C. the Aryans riding their horses, recently domesticated, spread themselves in the belt between Greece in the West and North Persia in the East. Then they entered India, *via* Seistan, overwhelmed the Later Harappans and occupied the river valleys of the Punjab. They had a specialised culture, the characteristic features of which were the patriarchate rendered compact by the institution of the *kula* and the *gotra* ; the *āshramas* where highly revered sages developed intellectual power and spiritual vision, a unique feature according to available knowledge unknown to other parts of the world of the time ; their love of cows and horses and their horsemanship which made them irresistible in war.

For about two centuries they spread themselves over the fertile river valleys of the North, particularly of the Sarasvatī, Drishadvatī and the Gaṅgā. Then Divodāsa of the Tṛitsus destroyed Shambara, the last of the great non-Aryan Kings referred to in the *Ṛgveda* and established some kind of hegemony over the Aryan and non-Aryan tribes. The banks of the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī became studded with *āshramas*, from where ' Brahmanas learned in Vedas ', ब्राह्मणाः वेदपारगाः radiated influence. Of them, Vasishṭha and Vishvāmitra, the most prominent, were ranged against each other in the *Dāsharājña*, the Battle of the Ten Kings, in which Sudās, Divodāsa's son, fought with the confederacy of ten kings, some of whom were non-Aryans. Vasishṭha perhaps died in the war and his son, Shakti, captured and blinded.

Soon thereafter, the Vedic age came to an end. Upheavals, geological, military and social, disturbed the even tenor of life. The centre of

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Aryan life shifted from the river valleys of the Punjab to the river valleys of U.P. Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī disappeared as rivers. The Ṭritsus and the Sṛiñjayas of the Vedic times became merged in the powerful Kuru-Pāñchāla people. There was a definite break in the literary and religious tradition of the *Ṛgveda*, as also in the older genealogies. The centres of learning were transferred from the banks of Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī to the banks of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, dispersed during the period of upheavals, was collected, redacted and caught in immortal accents. An elaborate sacrificial ritual replaced the simple religious ceremonials of the Vedic times. Īshana-Mahādeva came to dominate the pantheon in the place of Indra.

The social structure in which the Aryans and the Dasyus stood in constant conflict also gave place to a homogeneous society divided into *varṇas*. Tribal government was replaced by kingdoms ruled by powerful kings from well-settled capitals.

It was during this period that the tribes, who looked upon Parashurāma as their tribal hero, migrated to the West Coast to settle as Bhṛigukachhas and Kaṅkaṇas who spoke the ancestor of modern Koṅkaṇī. Lastly came the exodus of the Yādavas to Saurāshtra, and the Bhārata war, some of the heroes of which had personal contact with Parashurāma. These movements, in their military aspects, were represented by the traditions which surround Parashurāma and Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Veda Vyāsa.

Seventeen generations, spread over 350 to 400 years at the most, spanned the distance of time between the Divodāsa's conquest of Shambara and the flight of Nichakshu.

Thus, within this chronologic frame-work of from 1200 B.C. to 600 B.C., can the proto-history from Divodāsa to Udayana be filled in, and by a comprehensive treatment reconstructed.

V

The more important role which history has to play is to interpret life in its continuity, as I said before, in the flowing stream of time. It is essential that life be interpreted historically; for everything has a history, a place in time sequence. A historian, therefore, cannot rest content by digging out the facts of the past; some generalizations, however cautious, have to become part of his craft. That is why a large number of historians are gradually coming to the view that the writing of history, like propounding philosophy, has an indelibly subjective element about it.

The true function of philosophy is to provide the first principles of every discipline and the final synthesis of man's knowledge. The func-

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tion of history, on the other hand, is to stand guard over the love of abstraction, which philosophy can and should never outgrow. That is why history has a peculiarly commanding position among the intellectual disciplines. This necessarily implies the study of facts, powerful individuals and definite institutions and movements, and the ability to present them in all their bewildering fullness and complexity in an easily readable and narrative form. In every history, therefore, there must also enter an element of selectivity.

Charles Beard in a well-known article stated : ' Since all the humanistic sciences are based on abstractions from history-as-actuality, that is, are selective emphasis on particular aspects of history, they can be in no respect independent, free moving sciences. To ascertain the degree of truth in them, it is imperative to check them against comprehensive knowledge of the actuality of history. Indeed such checking against historical knowledge seems to be the chief intellectual operation likely to increase the degree of truth in any of the sciences.'

This view, I know, is combated by some eminent historians, who emphasize the actuality of history. H. A. L. Fisher in a celebrated passage averred : ' One intellectual excitement has been denied me. Men, wiser and more learned than I, have discovered in history, a plot, a rhythm, a predetermined pattern. These harmonies are concealed from me.'

Against this, there is the view of Prof. Toynbee who holds that everything that happens in history is a rational and necessary part of a single design. And I think he is right.

Great men in history do not stamp themselves upon their time without being shaped by the influences in which they grow up, or by the influences they struggle against. Nor are events isolated ; they are the products of the movements of ideas and values embedded in the collective mind of a people and which, handed down by generation to generation, give continuity and vitality to aggregates of men, giving them an outlook, a conscience and a will, distinct from those of individual men.

Whatever the differeces among eminent historians and the scholars of history, we cannot repudiate the claim of philosophy to extract lessons from history.

If we ignore all these, we reduce history to acrobatics in the art of finding facts—a performance which, however admirable, is of little importance in the affairs of men.

History, however, has a great role to play, not only in presenting the past to the present, but to illumine the path of the present to a better future.

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SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIA UP TO A.D. 711

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

Brother and Sister Delegates,

It is extremely kind of you to have chosen me for presiding over the Ancient Indian History Section. While I am most grateful to you for this, I am well aware of my shortcomings. As scholars like you, even as the Hansa, always accept the essential good and reject the residue, I request you to lend ear to a few words I have to say in inaugurating the proceedings of this section.

India is a great and glorious country. It has a rich heritage of great antiquity. A scholar has to be born over and over again to touch even a fringe of her noble culture. The history of this vast land is a long and interesting epic too huge to be covered in a few pages or in a limited range of time. Hundreds of scholars have been and still are working to unravel the mysteries and solve several problems in the story of our country. The achievements so far have always delighted everyone in the field and goaded them on to further devoted study and research. Nothing is more welcome to a scholar than encouraging results in research and a better knowledge of facts.

In understanding the history of the land, political events, dynastic history, fixing of dates, locating of eras and other problems have, no doubt, a great part to play. But it is the cultural history of the country that calls for greater attention to understand the genius of the nation—a panorama of the culture of the people, their ideals and their aspirations.

In understanding the culture from period to period, we have wonderful evidence in that remarkable citadel of our culture located in every village of our vast country—the temple. The life of man was in accordance with *Dharma*. All they did was influenced by *Dharma*. When vote by ballot decided the election of members for a *Sabhā* or Council, the announcement of the result was at the village temple where the election itself was held. The epigraphical and sculptural wealth that our great temples offer for the study of history and

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culture is immense. Together with the literary, numismatic and other material and folk traditions that survive almost to this day they offer a glimpse of how deep-rooted our cultural heritage has been.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata with its written commentary by Abhinavagupta from Kashmir has a sculptural commentary dating from the 2nd century B.C. at Bhārhut, the 2nd century A.D. at Amarāvatī and the most elaborate with legends in Choḷa Grantha characters describing the several *sthānas, karaṇas* and *aṅgaharas* in the numerous panels adorning the gopuras at Chidambaram. An inscription mentioning the verse "*Sarvamaṅgalamāṅgalye śive sarvārthasādhake, Śaraṇye tryambike devi nārāyaṇi namostute*" from *Devīmāhātmya* of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* shows us that it is definitely earlier than the 7th century. Śaṅkara's line from *Bhajagovinda* in the plates of Chāhamāna Ratnapāla shows the spiritual influence of the great āchārya even in the sphere of epigraphy. The Cambodian inscription mentioning Śivasoma as a disciple of Bhagavatpāda Śaṅkarāchārya shows the tremendous expansion of spiritual and cultural influence to distant lands at no distant date from the time of the propagation of Advaita by the great philospher. The occurrence of the *Sūryaśataka* on a fragmentary pillar of a Sūryamaṇḍapa from Kāñchīpurum shows how even in the 10th century A.D. Mayūra's work was given a very high place, being inscribed in Choḷa Grantha characters in the Sūrya temple itself most prominently. The occurrence of the line of the opening verse of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in an inscription of the 4th century A.D. from the Kṛishṇā valley—the Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmodaravaman—shows how profound was the influence of Vālmīki in the early centuries of the Christian era, of which we have other instances in the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman and the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgaleśa. In the latter record *samudra iva gambhīraḥ* is quoted from the Ādikavi. The Mahākūṭa inscription with the well-known lines from Kālidāsa and similar incorporations from other authors in inscriptions not only help us in ascertaining the date of these works, but also point to the profound literary atmosphere assimilating the ideas of great Mahākavis and their *kāvyas* in which even the daily transactions of normal life at the court and elsewhere were effected.

The ideals of the kings have been beautifully laid down in the *birudas* that they have chosen and engraved with great care not only on their several monuments but also on the coins they have issued. Even here, very often, the influence of the epics is clearly perceptible, such terms like *satyaparākrama, samudra iva, gambhīraḥ, ekadhanurdhara, bhīmakānta, dharmavijayī, śāstradṛishṭi, unnatachcha, kuladhvaja,* etc., are indications of great ideals. The glorious coin series of the

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Guptas has happy legends that present a glowing picture of the great achievements of this line. Never vanquished, always victorious and triumphant on earth here below, they gain victory even over heaven by their meritorious deeds. The horse, as the principal limb of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice as Kālidāsa would put it, and imprinted on the coin, suggests the triumph of the king over all others. It is presented in sculpture by the Aśvamedha horse in stone, and immortalised after the performance of this great *Kratu*. It is interesting to compare with this, the several inscriptions mentioning this sacrifice as having been performed by rulers of different dynasties; and in the context of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates of Śivaskandavaman recounting them, to recall the several sculptural scenes of the *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices in the long series of episodes from Pallava history narrated in a visual presentation of a gallary with lables here and there to throw light on them as we find in the Vaikuṇṭhanātha temple in Kāñchī. We have a similar story presented as 'History through Sculpture' in the famous temple at Koṇārak where the great builder Narasiṁha of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty has been presented over and over again in different attitudes in several carvings all of which open our eyes to understand thirteenth century Orissa and magnificence of the remarkable ruler who was responsible for one of the greatest monuments that India has produced. Narasiṁha as a patron of letters carved in a panel recalls literary descriptions. As Rājaśekhara describes in his *Kāvyamīmāmsā*, it is only a king who was a poet himself and appriciative of good poetry that could create and foster a band of eminent poets: "*Rājā kaviḥ kavisamājam vidadhita, rājani kavan lokaḥ kavis syā*". And it is a king of this creative power, a poet in the *Vidvat goshṭhī*, that Vidyānātha describes in the Kākatīya realm, or as we know from the court of Harshavardhana where Bāṇa as muse incarnate immortalised his great patron in his unique historical work the *Harshacharita*; or again as we can imagine from the poetic expressions and suggestions from the *birudas* of the author of *Mattavilāsa*, Mahendravarman of Kāñchī; or perennial darling of Sanskrit muse, Bhoja of Dhārā who can never be forgotten as long as the language of the gods lives on earth for all that he did as legends put it in the words of scholarly bards that cherished his memory in a manner that far surpasses the greatness of the glorious Bhojaśālā associated with his name from which probably came the famous image of Sarasvatī with its inscriptions on the pedestal suggesting it as so enshrined by Bhoja and now in the British Museum. Even so the sculpture from Koṇārak proclaims the ruler of the land as a great patron of literature. The coin *Rūpākṛiti* of Chandragupta II vividly presents the king as a great *rasika* and *sahridaya*. His love for music, suggested in the *vīṇā* type of coin of Samudragupta, is confirmed in the Allāhābād inscription of the king describing him as excelling even Tumburu and Nārad in his skill.

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At Khajuraho, there are several panels depicting royal processions and scenes from contemporary life which still remain to be studied for understanding the glory of the Chandellas at the height of their power.

In the time of the great Emperor Aśoka, the story of Māndhātā must have been so popular that in the desire for suzerainty after the break-up of the empire, the floating thought of the single umbrella is lovingly portrayed times without number. The Mandhātu Jātaka, which has a universal monarch as its theme, shows him with the right hand raised and the wheel of power and righteousness moving in front of him to triumph over several spheres of the earth and proceeding to heaven to occupy a part of even the throne of Indra. It is this umbrella and fly whisks that is so often shown even later in the *chhatra* and *chāmara* on coins as the paraphernalia of sovereignty over the emblems of the several dynasties like the boar of the Chālukyas, the fish of the Pāṇḍyas, the tiger of the Choḷas and so forth.

The Guptas went one step further and made the goddess of royal prosperity hold the *chāmara* for the King, just as in the coin of Zeonises of the Indo-Parthian series, the goddess of the city of the vanquished chooses the victor as her lord in the *svayaṁvara* fashion throwing the garland on his neck.

These factors were triumphantly annọunced in some commemorative coins in which history is imprinted with great gusto, *e.g.*, Narasiṁha, the victor of vātāpi who styled himself *Vātāpikoṇḍa* in an inscription at Bādāmī itself to commemorate his victory. The Choḷa Emperor Rājendra whose greatest achievement was the bringing of the Ganges water to his newly chosen capital at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, named after his conquest, issued coins to commemorate this event; and in his Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, he mentions how as a Kshatriya he brought Ganges water by his military prowess and not by penance like his ancestor Bhagīratha. Coins with the legend Malaināḍukoṇḍa, Talakāḍugoṇḍa, Noḷambarāḍigoṇḍa etc., continue this tradition.

The great ideal of *dharmayuddha* and *dharmavijaya* such as we read in literature and which Kālidāsa mentions in the context of Raghu's conquest of the princes of the various quarters by styling himself *dharmavijayī*, establishing only his supermacy and returning the kingdoms to the vanquished, is studied in History through such interesting legends on coins as *Kachchivaḷangum perumāl* commemorating Sunedra Pāṇḍya's conquest of Kāñchī and the returning of the territory to the defeated Choḷa ruler.

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Dharmayudda is graphically presented in sculpture at Amarāvatī where an elephant rider fights with a soldier on an elephant, a horseman with another cavalier, a chariotier with his opponent in a chariot and a foot soldier with his equal. This is a rare and revealing sculpture showing the high ideals of warfare where *Kūṭayuddha* or unfair fight was abhorred.

A simple sculpture like a small one from the Indian Museum, wherein Harihara in the centre is flanked by Buddha and Sūrya, all in a single piece, almost by the proximity of its date to the Banskhera plates of Harshavardhana, acts as a commentary to a state of thought amongst the most cultured and distinguished where toleration in religios faith of the greatest magnitude existed, and it was possible in one family for the father to be a Paramādityabhakta, a mother to be from a line of Paramabhāgavata, the eldest son to be Paramasaugata and the younger one to be a Paramamāheśvara.

A sculpture with the Pañchāyatana from Bihar shows the profound influence of Śankara over Pañchāyatana worship which is still a guiding factor in the pūjā of Advaitins amongst Smārtas in the south; and it is no wonder that in this context we should understand the great religious tolerance of Rājarāja Choḷa who made magnificent gifts of villages to, and encouraged the establishment of, the Buddhist Monastery at Nāgapaṭṭiṇam even as his sister Kundavai endowed a Jaina institution, while both of them were greatly devoted to Śiva; and this brings to our mind the instance of the Vijayanagar monarch who brought about peace between Vaishṇavas and Jains by requesting his own Rājaguru literally to shake hands in friendship with the Jaina preceptor. This also reminds us of how Akbar received Hīra Śuri with great reverence as narrated in the *Hīrasaubhāgya*.

The inscriptions recording the wars between dynasties do not by themselves give complete details of the glory or defeat of several rulers, nor do they present the full picture of the culture of the period only by themselves. They have, in fact, to be understood in the light of other and very interesting evidence by way of architecture, sculpture and painting. Motifs found in one place or repeated in other places where they could not normally be expected have their own story to tell. The southern type of *vimāna* at Paṭṭadakal with the inscriptions in the Mallikārjuna temple narrates as much a story of Vikramādityas admiration for the skill of the sculptors and architects from Kāñchī whom he patronised as propably the Varāha and other panels at Mahābalipuram in the wake of Narasiṁhavarman's conquest of Bādāmī. Similarly the Kailāsa temple at Ellora with its definite southern mode of *vimāna* has a similar story to give. The bearded Brahmā at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram is the only one of its kind in

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South India where the normal youthful *deva* type of the god of creation is the norm quite unlike the aged, bearded *pitōhama* type found in Northern India. This representation has again to be understood in the context of Rājendra Choḷa's appreciation of art forms in the country he vanquished, but the cultural glory of which overwhelmed him. His creation of the novel Navagraha at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram can be understood only by studying the northern and southern forms of the planets and the Gupta Pillar Capital showing the planets in the Gwalior Museum; and the whole history of this transformation of ideas in later centuries may further be studied in Kākatīya and later sculpture.

The pr found influence of the Varāha concept and the raising of Pṛithvī from the ocean so graphically presented at Udayagiri near Vidiśā in the Gupta period has not only created masterpieces at Badāmī and Mahābalipuram, not to speak of several other numerous such representations all over, but also resulted even in portraying the ideal of the king to be a veritable varāha to raise the fallen state of his royal glory with its earthly possessions to dizzy heights, as found imprinted on the Ādivarāha coin of the powerful emperor Mihira Bhoja.

History in suggestion is to be read in the significant symbols and imprints on coins like those of Yajña Śātakarṇi with his juvenile portrait adorned with sidelocks on the obverse and four symbols on the reverse of his coin proclaiming the travel of his fame suggested by a crescent climbing the mountain, crossing the ocean, going to the netherworld and reaching heaven—symbols so appealing and easily understood with the help of Kālidāsa's verse describing Raghu s glory that even later monarchs successively made it a point to use them like the Kshatrapas and the Traikutakas.

Numerous inscriptions mentioning in part the *mahamaṅtra* from the *Mahābhārata* "*namo brahmaṇyadevāya gobrāhmaṇa hitāya cha*" have visual representation of this thought of the period. In coins representing the Kāmadhenu, Kalpavriksha and pūrnakumbha as Lakshmī not only the most auspicious symbols but also the form of the goddess of prosperity herself, Lakshmī and Rājyalakshmi, Jayalakshmi and Gajalakshmī, royal prosperity as described in Rudradāman's inscription, as righteous wealth overflowing in his treasury, is presented to the world in a subtle way. In one of the Kuninda coins, Lakshmī, Kamadhenu and the Śrīvatsa symbol are presented together, suggesting at once the symbolic, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic form of the deity. In a cast tribal coin, the Kamadhenu and the *purnakumbha* are imprinted on obverse and reverse. In coins from Mathurā and in Sātavāhana coins Lakshmī and the Kalpavṛiksha are shown associated. There are

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other tribal coins where the glory of the cow is presented with great force. It is immortalised by the sculptor in the oft-repeated scene of Govardhanadhara which happened to become a great theme in Indian art of which splendid examples exist not only in the early art from Māṇḍor in Rājasthān and in the Gupta piece from Banaras but also in the Vishṇukuṇḍin sculpture from Mogalrājapuram, the glorious Govardhana frieze from Mahābalipuram, the panel from Ellora and the too numerous representations from all over.

The theme of Amṛitamanthan became such a great favourite that the Gupta panel from the entrance of the cave at Udayagiri was repeated not only in Western Chālukyan, Kākatīya and other schools of Art but travelled beyond the shores of India and created a stir as it were by its magnificence as a complete architectural lay out of the temple plan at Ankor Thom, the temple itself conceived as Mt. Mandara and the entire surroundings as the milky ocean.

Themes in art like the *Dvārapāla*, Śivaganas, Kumbhaṇḍayakshas, Vidyādharas, Kinnaras, Aśvamukhīs and various other forms as motifs in architecture and sculpture have their own story to tell of their power in overwhelming by their charm and beauty the hearts of conquering dynasties of kings from region to region. The Dvārapāla from Kalyāṇī with his club entwined by a snake swallowing a rat with a cat watching in the vicinity, suggesting the superior *nāgabala* of the reptile over weaker foes like rats and cats, symbolises the dominence of the Chālukyas over their adversaries. The Choḷa monarch was so impressed by the beauty of this Chālukya figure that he not only brought it home as war trophy after his conquest of Kalyāṇī, the capital of the Chālukyas, but also got his own sculptor to improve the idea by making the snake mightier and capable of swallowing even an elephant which a lion is watching in its vicinity, thus proclaiming the greater *nāgabala* of the Choḷa Emperor Rājendra.

Not only do we know by the finds of numerous Roman gold coins of the tremendous commercial intercourse between South India and Rome, but actually sculptures of the early century of the Christian era in the Kṛishṇā valley both from Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa point to this Roman influence, as it is obvious in several figures and costumes. Similarly the Kushāṇ period in the north points to the impact of several strains of foreign culture, and conical caps long coats, high-topped boots and other modes of apparel in sculpture are very significant. It may be interesting to note how the word *kañchuki* is very significant as only the chamberlain and pageboy wore shirts and none else in the purely indigenous mode of representation. At Deogarh high class dress is suggested in the case of Devakī and

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Vāsudeva where both wear the *antāarīya* and the *uttarīya*. In the case of Devakī, the lower garment is *āprapadīna* up to the ankles and her coiffure is pearl—bedecked—*muktājālagrathitamalakam*, all possible jewels and ornaments being presented in the case of both. For the simple Gopī, the cow herdess, a long *kurtā* shirt is shown which even today is the normal dress of the women of the Punjab. It is interesting to observe that while the skirt is worn by the Gopī, Devakī wears the saree in almost *kachchha* fashion making it clear that she is a married woman and not a virgin, as dress seems to indicate in the words of the Vidushaka in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* where the king, the hero, is re-assured that the statue is that of a virgin and not of a married woman judging from the mode of wear of her dress.

The variety of *ushṇīsha* in sculpture is a subject of study in itself, and we may observe in this context that the earliest iconographical forms of deities wear only a turban and not the crown and it helps us to understand and appreciate the *kirīṭa* with reference to the time factor in history. Even at Sanchi, the earliest Indra has only a turban though later he wears a crown. The earliest Saṅkarshaṇa in the Lucknow Museum that can be dated in the 2nd Century B. C. has a turban and not a crown. The Guḍimallam Śiva has only a turban and a single pair of arms, answering the description of Śiva in the *Rudra* of the *Yajurveda*. In this context, it would be most interesting to study the figure of Śiva from Parel as an early concept composed of seven figures in one. This has remained a mystery. I feel that this should be understood as the earliest form of Śiva as the musical Dakshiṇāmūrti or Vīṇādhara Dakshiṇāmūrti, as he is known. He is *Nādatanu* or *Svaramaya* Śiva composed of the seven elements of music. We know that Śiva is conceived as a highest Nātyāchārya. He is also a great Lord of music being fond of the musical chant of *Sāma*. His glory is sung in the seven *Sāma* notes, *saptasāmopagītam trām* as Kālidāsa puts it. *Vedānām Sāmavedosmi*, says the *Bhagavadgītā*, and these seven notes of the musical chant of the *Veda* are presented in the seven *svaras* composing the form of Śiva. Śiva is also conceived as Yajamāna and Agni. In the *Vishṇusahasranāma*, he is described as *kratu* or sacrifice. It is this aspect that has been emphasized at Guḍimallam. Thus we have Agni and Yajamāna, two of the *ashṭamūrtis* in the Guḍimallam form; and the all-pervading *Svara* form spreading out all over the panel in the seven figures composing it with the Gaṇas below playing musical instruments like the *vīṇā* and the flute, suggesting the *ākāśa* form of Śiva by its *guṇa*, namely *sabda* symbolised by the highest form of its heavenly music.

The motif of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which is a constant factor in all Guptā temples on the doorway, is certainly unknown beyond the

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area of Gupta influence. Its presence for the first time as a solitary example in a temple at Biccavolu beyond Rājahmandry calls for a possible explanation and the inscription of the Eastern Chālukya king Guṇaga Vijayāditya together with what we know from Western Chālukya history mentioning the triumph of Vinayāditya in the Indo-Gangetic area and his appropriation of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā motif read along with the fact that the Rāshṭrakūṭas being the political successors of the early Western Chālukyas were equally entitled to it, and the Eastern Chālukya king as victor in battle with the Rāshṭrakūṭas could equally lay claim to the motif already with the Rāshṭrakūṭas, brings home to us the cause for the presence of this in the Eastern Chālukya temple of the time at Biccavolu. Kaliṅga motifs in Eastern Chālukya art show the close touch between these two areas under the rule of the powerful Eastern Chālukya monarchs who attacked Kaliṅga at various stages.

The Chatushshashtiyoginī Temples in Orissa and in Central India and Bundelkhand show the close contact that these regions had. Rājendera's conquest of Kaliṅga not only brought a Kaliṅga Gaṇeśa to the country of the Choḷas, though today its significance is forgotten, but also created the form of Lakulīśa, a form unknown in the south, in the temple at Tiruvottiyūr built by Rājendra which so closely resembles the Lukulīśa at Biccavolu where also the introduction of this form is entirely due to the territorial inclusion of southern Kaliṅga in the Eastern Chālukya kingdom.

It may be interesting in this context of Kaliṅga history to know that the beautiful Koṇārak temple with its magnificent wheels and horse, suggesting the triumphant movement of the Sun God in his chariot drawn by his seven steeds is inspired by the earlier motif of the wheel and horse added to the *Vimāna* or *maṇḍapa* of the Choḷa Temple in the 12th Century as at Chidambaram and Dārāsuram, and the motif travelled all the way to Kaliṅga through the source of diplomatic marriages effected in those times between the Choḷas and the Chāḷukyas and the Choḷas and the Eastern Gaṅgas as a result of which Anantavarma Choḍagaṅgadeva was born to Rājasundarī the daughter of Kulottuṅga Choḷa an offspring of which union was Narasiṁha, the builder of Koṇārak.

The art of portraiture, which is described by the technical term *viddhachitra* in the śilpa texts, has from the earliest times aided the historian to visualise the personality of the king, sometimes effectively presented in literature but often left to our own imagination. Unfortunately, the portraits of Ajātaśatru, Udayana, Prasenajit and others are only imaginary as they occur in very early representations of scenes from Buddha's life, the earliest dating back to the second

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century B.C. Bhīshma, the great Kuru grand-father, Jarāsandha and Bhima, Yudhishṭhira and Jayadratha, all great heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, are carvings from the imagination of the sculptors of the Gupta and early medieval periods. But there are portraits of kings preserved almost like our modern authentic sculptural representations of personalities. The headless Kanishka portrait and others preserved in the Mathurā Museum have their own great story to tell about the personality of the Kushāṇ rulers. We have another fine specimen of royal portrait preserved in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan in the King and Queen in stone, recalling the king and queen type of Chandragupta coin. The portrait gallery of Kshatrapa rulers as on their coins is the richest. Yajña Śātakarṇi's, Harsha's and Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa's portraits are also preserved on coins. The art-minded king Mahendravarman has left for us a portrait of himself and his queen in the faded painting at Śittanvavāśal. It should be supplemented by the more elaborate panel from Mahābalipuram. Other Pallava portraits are of Siṁhavishṇu and Narasiṁhavarman at Mahābalipuram and those of various others in scenes that make up the entire history of the Pallavas in sculpture at the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple. The paintings in the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore give us not only a glimpse of the life in Choḷa times, but also the portrait of the great Śivapādaśekhara Rājarāja and his queens. The builder of the Dārāsuram temple has left for us his portrait with his queen, Vikramāditya with his art-minded queen Trailokyamahādevī that built the group of temples at Paṭṭaḍakal has given us a portrait as in the company of his queen. The Hoysaḷa King Vishṇuvardhana converted to Vaishṇavism by Ramānuja is shown in his court with his noble and gifted queen Śāntalā, and it may be remembered that Śāntalā was one of the great women of India. The most remarkable portrait of a king with his queens is the Krishṇadevarāya group in bronze which is only in continuation of the most early tradition of setting up portraits. The term *ālekhyaśesha* suggests that the departed ones left only their portraits to recall their memory.

It is not only military glory and royal triumph that have found expression in sculptural presentation, but also other aspects of life of the period which have attracted the sculptor's chisel and the artist's brush. The beautiful portraiture at Ajaṇṭā of the dances; the row of shops on the high road as prince Vessantara proceeds in his chariot; the merchants weighing, measuring and selling their wares; cow-boys moving tardily along with their herd and teasing the snake in its anthill, are a graphic picture of the life of the age. The hunter and huntress in leafy clothing and cowrie and peacock feather adornment as at Sānchī, the fisherman, the fowler, the snake-charmer and husbandman and so forth in all these sculptures and paintings from Bāgh, Sānchī, Amarāvatī, Ajaṇṭā and other places depict the surging

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life of the age. The quaint mode of writing with the iron stylus on palm leaf, as presented in the carved panel from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa gives us also a peep into the state of advancement in life at that remote period of Indian History.

The peaceful hermitage of the *ṛishis*, a theme so appealing in itself and which Kālidāsa has sung in several verses of great charm, is a delightful theme in sculpture also. From the time of Bharhut we have several representations of the sages, Upanishadic seers, imparting knowledge to their disciples in the peaceful atmosphere of their hermitage. At Amarāvatī, Golī, Mathurā, and Sānchi, the sage is shown leading the life of a *vānaprastha* as also in Gupta and early Western Chālukya sculpture. There are many effective representations of the hermitage and specially so in the narration of the story of Ahalyā. The simple but magnificent and virtuous wife of Atri presenting the precious perfume to Sītā in her hermitage is a great sculpture from Deogarh, the saptaṛishis with Arundhatī beside the great sage Vaśishṭha in the centre is one of the unique sculptures hailing from Drakshārāma and belonging to the Eastern Chālukya school. Agastya is represented not only in India; but is popular beyond the shores of our land. In Java he is often sculpturally presented as Bhaṭāraguru; and as a patron deity of mariners he is present on the deck of the splendid ship in one of the panels at Barabudur.

The pleasing *mithuna* motif in art is unfortunately the most misunderstood as an indication of the degradation of the morals of people in Medieval times. It occurs as a pleasing motif from the earliest times and it is only when it is properly understood, each carving in its own context with the help of the *Kāmaśāstra*, that it reveals its significance. It cannot be forgotton that *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma* are all *purushārthas* that lead one to the final goal of *Moksha*, and *Kāma* which is not opposed to *Dharma* is a great *purushārtha* and naturally has a rightful place in art as in life.

Indian History has a great chapter of sculpture, inscriptions and literature suggestive in its narration rather than a mere insipid record of events, and it has to be studied with great patience for understanding the cultural unity in its diversity, springing and spreading from a central root from the heart of this our ancient land of hoary traditions.

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PHALLIC EMBLEMS OF THE INDUS VALLEY

SWAMI SANKARANANDA

It is gathered from the reports of certain archaeologists on Mohenjodaro that the Bronze Age in India ushered in the phallic emblems. With some parenthetical remarks about Śāktism Marshall goes on to consider the phallic emblems of Mohenjodaro—the yoni and the linga—which were to become the characteristics of Śaivism, and with them also the worship of baetylic stones, between which and phallic emblems, he thinks, it is frequently difficult to distinguish.

It appears that the entire observation of Marshall was based on wrong premises. He has taken for granted that phallic emblems were characteristic of Śaivism. But he did not know that the *Cult of Śiva* as followed by *Śaivites* has no place for the worship of a sex organ, male or female.

His ignorance of the cults of Śiva and Śakti also led him to unite the two and bring out a sex cult from it. He should have known that the cult of Śiva and the cult of Śakti are two independent cults. In the Śiva cult, the Supreme deity is Śiva and in the Śakti Cult the Supreme deity is Śakti. None of these two are related to one another. So, there cannot be a sex cult by the combination of the two.

The yoni and the linga (phallus) have no place in the most austere practices of the Śaivites. Most probably Marshall had gleaned his information about the cult of Śiva and Sakti from common people. Had he consulted a good scholar, he could have kept himself on the right track.

Marshall's theory is that the earliest worship of stones was for their peculiar appearances. Then comes the animistic state and they were regarded as the habitation of the spirit.

In the Indus valley he recognises three classes of aniconic objects:

1. The first class comprises those of the types illustrated in plates, xiii, 3 and xiv, 2,4,5. According to Marshall two of these are unquestion-

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ably phalli (pl. xiv, 2,4). They are more or less realistically modelled, and thereby prove conclusively that phallicism in India had a pre-Aryan origin. He was sanguine he could thus dispense with the theory that it was introduced into India by Greeks or other Western invaders.

He supplies further evidence on the same point with the help of two specimens from the reports of Sir Aural Stein on his excavations in Northern Baluchistan, one a linga or phallus and the other a Yoni or vulva, the former from Mughal Ghundai and the latter from Periani Ghundai.

In fact all the specimens illustrated and treated were imported. None of them was found either in Harappa or Mohenjodaro. And these are the only specimens that may be identified with a male or a female organ. Moreover, the chalcolithic sites of Baluchistan might be younger than the Indus sites by a thousand years. At least they were not proved to be contemporary.

In this way Marshall built his phallic theory on materials which were unknown in the Bronze-age-Mohenjodaro.

Thus the archaeologist had his own way and made out the most fantastic sex-cult out of materials which the excavator's spade did not unearth either from Harappa or from Mohenjodaro.

(*b*) The stones of the second class (pls. xiii, 4-6 and xiv, 3 and 7) are even more varied according to Marshall, both in size and form. Some of the larger specimens are 2 to 3 feet in height. These stones are now found worshipped all over India as Śiva-lingas.

Here, there is a 'but'. These objects, so like the Jewish Massæbas, argnes Marshall, were non-phallic. This concession was allowed to save the Jewish symbol, otherwise a phallic Indian sign may in course of time make a phallic Massæba. Indeed a very unconvincing argument.

This exponent of the phallic cult had an inexhaustible store of imagination. He imagined that these stones, which are so like the bætyles, are to be interpreted as phallic rather than bætylic, because, their conical shapes are commonly associated with that of linga. He further elaborates by saying that nothing is more likely than that; for, as Saivism developed, it largely absorbed the older bætylic worship and appropriated its symbols to phallic worship. This would, according to Marshall, explain why the vast majority of medieval and modern lingas are fashioned more like bætylic stones than phalli.

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A study of the cones show that they may be classed as :

1. Stones on which the potters and bronze-smiths shaped the bottoms of potteries and bronze-utensils.

2. Some might have been used as the modern Śivalingas.

3. The smaller ones are probably used to make the holes in the bottoms and sides of the porous jars. They were also used for carrying the rope round the bamboo or wooden planks that are made to press the reeds of the wattle walls. The loss of the tips of many such cones speaks for itself.

(*c*) The third class of these stone objects comprises ring-stones (pl. xiii, 9-12; xiv, 6, 8.) All the larger specimens are of stone, the smaller ones are also of faience, shell or carnelian. Marshall thinks that these and other stones of this class are definitely regarded as Yonis or female organ of generation.

Marshall cites the cases of Shivaji and the Peshwas who crept through Srigundi stone for the exculpation from sins. He thinks that by creeping through it the person imitates rebirth. But Marshall should have known that rebirth cannot make one sinless. So, this stone is not a Yoni-stone.

Some of these rings appear to be clamps. The biggest one was used to clamp two tall trees so as to make a long post for the support of the corbelled roof of the houses. The smaller ones were surely used for smaller objects. These clamps are a class in themselves, as they are made undulated to hold the pegs, run in the body of the wood, for the fixation of the clamp as well as the two timbers.

The rings with even surfaces were probably the capitals of the wooden posts.

1. Thus by the analysis of the signs, on which Marshall so diligently built his theory of sex-cult, we find that the so-called naturalistic representatives of the phallus were imported from a site which was younger than the Indus cities by at least a thousand years. So, they could have no relation with the religious life of the Indus people.

2. The so-called bætyles might have been used as :—

    1. Potter's and bronze-smith's implements, specially the larger ones.

    2. Some might have been put to the same use as the modern Śivalingas.

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3. Smaller ones were used to make holes in the bottom of the jars or by the sides of the wattle-walls for the passing and repassing of the ropes.

3. The ringstones were probably used as :

1. Clamps in the joints between two trees or logs etc. The biggest one was probably for the tallest post of the house which was made by joining two tall trees for the support of the corbelled heavy roof of a house. The weight of the clamps did not tell upon the logs as it pressed downwards. It was secured by two wooden pegs driven through the body of the post fixing the clamp in its upper and lower undulations.

2. Capitals of the wooden pillars.

Thus by the analysis of the evidence adduced by Marshall to prove the existence of a phallic cult in the Bronze age culture of the Indus, we find that none of his arguments, creating a phallic cult out of them, could be supported by the archæological finds. The most mischievous part of the attempt is the importation of signs which were not found in the Indus valley and which were of very late origin.

All the above misinterpretations of the Indian cones by Marshall and his followers were due to a wrong and prejudiced idea above the use of cones in religious practices.

It was found that the Western Asiatic Goddess Astartes was worshipped on cones and her rites were connected with a sexual communism in that area. But Frazer has pointed out that in that very area there were cones in the rites of which no sexual excesses were perpetrated.

This very instance removes the sex connection with the cones. It was therefore an accident that cones associated with Astartes was somehow related with sex cult.

Similar was the case with the Śivalingas. They cannot be taken as phallus or sex organs, simply because of their conical shapes. The entire rites of Śaivites performed in relation to Śivalinga bespeaks a very high spiritual fervour and celibacy. It was not associated with such sex enjoyments as were found to defile the precincts of the shrines of the Western Asiatic goddess. Thus Marshall and others have argued from false analogy. The rites of Astartes and that of Śiva have no similarity.

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MISCONCEPTION ABOUT CERTAIN KINGLY NAMES

Occurring in the Ṛgveda

Dr. S. D. Gyani

Since the inception of Indological studies at the hands of the Western scholars, efforts have been made to reconstruct political history of ancient India with the help of the data available from the *Ṛgveda*. The Vedic scholars, during the course of their studies, have come across certain names occurring in the *Ṛgveda*, which according to them are tribal names.[1] With the help of such and other names, political history of the *Ṛgvedic* India has been attempted. And in this attempt, the scholars depended merely on the Vedic data, little caring for the Purāṇic evidence. It was Pargiter[2] who for the first time drew the attention of the Indologists to the importance of the Purāṇic studies in the reconstruction of ancient Indian history and demonstrated in his *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* the authenticity of the memorable verses from the *Vāyu-purāṇa*,[3] stressing the importance of the Purāṇic studies for rightly understanding the Vedas. But Pargiter[3a] went to the other extreme of discarding the Brāhmaṇic traditions and laying all emphasis on the Kṣatriya traditions, as embodied in the Purāṇas. Thus both the Vedic and the Purāṇic scholars made an erroneous approach to the reconstruction of ancient Indian history by giving all importance either to Vedic or to Purāṇic studies. But the correct approach would be the adoption of both the Vedic and the Purāṇic evidence for historical purposes. In this way, it is possible to get correct historical perspective about ancient India.

It is due to this erroneous approach that the Vedic scholars, neglecting the Purāṇic evidence, have failed to give a correct perspective of ancient Indian history and this has resulted in misconception about certain kingly names occurring in the *Ṛgveda* and

1. A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 153-155; *The Vedic Age* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), pp. 245-250; A. C. Das, *Ṛgvedic Culture*, pp. 352-367.

2. Pargiter laid the foundations of the historical importance of the Purāṇic studies by bringing out his *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* (London, 1922), *Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Clarendon Press, 1933).

3. I, 200-201.

3a. *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, pp. 6-10.

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this misconception can easily be removed with the aid of the Purāṇic evidence.

Various names occurring in the *Ṛgveda*[4] are regarded as tribal names. Of these five names are regarded as most important *viz.*, Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru.[5] According to the Vedic scholars, these five tribes, along with other five of lesser importance, fought in the Battle of Ten Kings,[6] in which Viśvāmitra led the confederacy of ten kings against the Bharatas under Sudāsa, who had dismissed Viśvāmitra and appointed Vaśiṣṭha his priest. Hence, the rivalry resulted in war. In the bloody and the decisive struggle on the Paruṣṇī, the Bharatas emerged victorious utterly routing the confederacy of whom Anu and Druhyu kings were drowned and Pūrukutsa of the Pūru's met his death.

The so-called five tribal names (Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru) are generally identified with *Pañcajanāḥ*,[7] *Pañcakṛṣṭayaḥ*,[8] *Pañcacarṣaṇayaḥ*[9] and *Pañcakṣitayaḥ*[10] occurring in the *Ṛgveda*.[11] According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the five names indicate (*i*) gods, (*ii*) men, (*iii*) *Gandharvas* and *Apsaras*, (*iv*) snakes and (*v*) the manes, whereas Yāska thinks that (*i*) Gandharvas, (*ii*) manes, (*iii*) gods, (*iv*) demons and (*v*) Rākṣasas are meant. Aupamanyavas and Sāyaṇa hold that the four *Varṇas* and *Niṣādas* made up the five. Roth and Geldner take the expression to indicate the people of the whole earth.[12] Thus, the Vedic scholars are not unanimous about the interpretation of the terms *Pañcajanāḥ*, *Pañcakṛṣṭayaḥ* etc., and their identification with the so-called five tribes Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. Moreover, in the *Ṛgveda*, there is no indication whatsoever that the terms *Pañcajanāḥ* etc., signified the five-Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru.

A critical study of the *Ṛgvedic* references to Yadu etc., clearly shows that they cannot be tribal names, they are definitely proper names of Kings. A perusal of the social and political conditions as revealed in the *Ṛgveda* easily establishes the fact that the Aryans had long passed the tribal stage of their social and political evolution,

4. VII, 18.
5. *Ṛgveda*, I, 108, 8.
6. *Ibid.*, VII, 83, 18, 33.
7. *Ibid.*, III, 7, 39, 59, 8, VIII, 32, 22, IX, 65, 23, X, 45, 6.
8. *Ibid.*, II, 2, 10, III, 53, 16, IV, 38, 10, X, 60, 4, 1196.
9. *Ibid.*, V, 86, 2, VII, 15, 2, IX, 101, 9.
10. *Ibid.*, I, 7, 9, 176, 3, V, 352, VI 46, 7, VII, 75, 4, 79, 1.
11. *The Vedic Age*, p. 247; A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 153-154; A. C. Das, *Ṛgvedic Culture*, p. 45.
12. *The Vedic Age*, p. 262, note 15.

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and during the *Ṛgvedic* period, they had evolved a national and social consciousness[13]. References in the *Ṛgveda* to the institution of caste or *Varṇa-vyavasthā*[14] as also to *Sabhā, Samiti*,[15] kingship[16] etc., point in the same direction. Hence to postulate that the terms Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru occurring in the *Ṛgveda* are tribal names is not correct. Besides grammatically also, the terms Yadu, Pūru etc. cannot be tribal names or names indicating a group of persons descended from a common ancestor.[17] According to the rules of Sanskrit grammar Yādava, Paurava etc., and not Yadu, Pūru etc., would be the tribal or group names. Both the terms *Yādava* and *Paurava* are so well-known to latter literature[18] and history[19]. That the terms Yadu, Puru etc., are proper names and not tribal is amply established by Purāṇic evidence. In the *Purāṇas*,[20] the five names Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru occur as the five sons of Yayāti, the fourth descendent from the originator of the lunar dynasty.[21] Yayāti, according to the Purāṇas, was the second son of Nahuṣa, whose father was Āyus, the eldest son of Purūravas Aiḷa. All these were Vedic seers and their names occur in the *Ṛgveda*.[22] The king Yayāti himself was a Vedic seer[23] and is actually mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*.[24] All these references clearly show that Yadu, Pūru, Yayāti, Nahuṣa, and Pururavas were important persons in the religious life of the *Ṛgvedic* age, some of them being even Vedic seers. Purāṇic evidence on the point establishes their importance in the political life of the age.

The Purāṇas supply us with important facts connected with Yayāti and his five sons Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. There can be no difficulty in identifying Yayāti and his five sons Yadu etc. with Yayāti and Yadu etc., occurring in the *Ṛgveda*. Because in the *Ṛgveda* Yayāti is known as *Yayāti Nāhusa i.e.*, Yayāti, the son of Nahuṣa. According to the Purāṇas, he is the second son of Nahuṣa.

13. *Ṛgveda*, X, 65, 11.

14. *Ibid.*, X, 90, 11.

15. *Ibid.*, X, 173, IX, 92, 6; *Atharva, Veda.*, VII, 12, 1-2.

16. *Ṛgveda*, X, 173, IX, 92, 6.

17. *Vārtika* to Pāṇini, IV, 1, 168.

18. In the Purāṇas, *Mahābhārata* etc., the two names are so well known.

19. At the time of Alexander's invasion' a *Paurava* ruler was ruling in the Punjab. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (Fourth edition), p. 64, note I. The Yādavas of Devagiri are so well known. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (Fourth edition), pp. 451-452.

20. *Vāyupurāṇa*, 93/16-17.

21. Purūravas Aiḷa-Āyus-Nahuṣa-Yayāti.

22. *Ṛgveda*, I, 31, 11, *Nahuṣo Mānavaḥ*, the seer of *Ṛgveda*, IX, 101, 7-9; Purūrava Aiḷa, the seer of *Ṛgveda*. X, 95, 1, 3, 6, 8-10, 12, 14, 17, 2, 4, 5, 7, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, Nahuṣa is mentioned in *Ṛgveda*, I, 122, 8, I, 122, 10-11.

23. *Ṛgveda*, IX, 101, 4-6.

24. I, 31, 17.

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Similarly Āyus and Purūravas Aiḷa, who according to the Purāṇas are the ancestors of Yayāti, are also mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, though their relationship with Yayāti is not at all hinted there. Yadu etc., the five sons of Yayāti as mentioned in the Purāṇas, are also referred to both collectively and severally in the *Ṛgveda*, though their relationship with Yayāti is not hinted. Thus, the *Ṛgveda* gives all these kingly names without in any way connecting them, but the Purāṇic evidence connects all these names in a common bondage of blood relationship and thus sheds important light on the political history of the period, in the absence of which certain misconceptions prevailed about the kingly names occurring in the *Ṛgveda*.

The Purāṇas[25] notice Yayāti as a ruler and a man, rather a romantic lover. The romantic episode about his marriage with Śarmiṣṭhā is described in poetic language in the Purāṇas. His first wife Devayāni was the daughter of Uśanas (Śukra) and the second wife Śarmiṣṭhā was the daughter of Vṛṣaparvan, the lord of the demons. Devayānī gave birth to Yadu and Turvaśa (Durvasu according to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*), and Śarmiṣṭhā gave birth to Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. Of these the eldest Yadu and the youngest Pūru were historically very important, because as the *Agni-purāṇa* says, they were the prolongers of their lines. In the *Ṛgveda*, as already noticed, the names of the five sons of Yayāti occur several times. The names of Yadu and Turvaśa occur together,[26] whereas those of Druhyu, Anu and Pūru, the sons of Śarmiṣṭhā are generally mentioned together.[27] These Vedic references might indirectly hint that the two sons of Devayānī and the three sons of Śarmiṣṭhā were not living together in close association because their mothers may not have lived together amicably. After the marriage of Yayāti with Śarmiṣṭhā, his first wife Devayānī may have lost favour with her lord.

According to the Purāṇas[28] Yayāti ruled over wide territories and was a noble and pious king. He was also a great conqueror. He was given a celestial chariot by Indra riding which he conquered the whole earth with seven concentric islands encircled by seas.[29] He was also very sensuous. Though old, he wanted to enjoy youth and requested each one of his five sons to exchange their youth for his old age. Only Pūru, the youngest, agreed to this queer proposal and exchanged his youth for his father's old age[30]. Being satiated with

25. *Matsyapurāṇa*, Chapter 24; *Harivaṁśa*, Chapter 30; *Vāyupurāṇa*, Chapter 93 ; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 10.

26. *Harivaṁśa*, 30/4-5.

27. *Agnipurāṇa*, 274/23.

28. *Ṛgveda*, I, 54, 6, IV, 30, 17, VI, 20, 12, X, 62, 10, IX, 61, 2.

29. *Ibid.*, VII, 18, 6, 12-14.

30. *Vāyupurāṇa*, Chapter 93 ; Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV, 10 ; *Matsyapurāṇa*, Chapter 24 ; *Harivaṁśa*, Chapter 30.

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the pleasures of youth he returned the youth to Pūru, and as a reward for his dutifulness gave over all his dominions to him, whereas other brothers merely became his subordinates in various directions. Turvaśa was assigned to the south-east, Druhyu to the west, Yadu to the south and Anu to the north. After this, he retired to the forest and performed penance.[31] In the Purāṇas we get a picture of his spiritual life as an ascetic from the verses comprising the *Yayāti Gītā*[32] which in philosophical, spiritual and ethical fervour, is a precursor of the *Bhagavatgītā*. This clearly establishes his importance in the religious life of his times, as is amply corroborated by the evidence of the *Ṛgveda*.

The above account of Yayāti, as gleaned from the Purāṇas, clearly reveals the personality of a great king, who was a great conqueror, romantic lover, ascetic and philosopher. His dominions stretched over the whole of India, which were inherited by his youngest son Pūru, who appointed his four brothers his deputies in the outlying provinces of his dominions.

In the Ṛgveda the five brothers are referred to, and are misconstrued to be the names of five tribes. In the light of the aforementioned facts, based on the Purāṇic evidence, the view that the five names Yadu, Turvaśa etc., are the tribal names is as good as exploded. This misconception was due to the lack of Purāṇic knowlege on the part of the Vedic scholars. A comparative study of the *Ṛgvedic* and *Purāṇic* data about Yayāti and his five sons clearly reveals what an important role they played in the religious and political life of their times. The divergence between the two data may be due to the fact that the *Ṛgveda* was concerned with the religious and spiritual aspect of his career, whereas the Purāṇas, profane as they were, with the political and social aspect. Thus, the Purāṇic evidence about Yayāti and his five sons is supplemented by the evidence of the *Ṛgveda*.

The Purāṇic evidence about Yayāti's five sons is indirectly corroborated, to some extent, by the evidence of the *Ṛgveda*. With the help of the *Ṛgvedic* references to the five sons of Yayāti, Yadu etc., miscalled tribes, the scholars[33] have tried to assign them to particular regions. Druhyu probably lived in the tract between the Sarasvatī and the Śutudrī. Pūru lived on both the banks of the upper Indus on the borders of Gāndhāra and kept in check the depredations of the troublesome Dasyus, in which work they were occasionally assisted by

31. *Harivaṁśa*, 30, 15-16.
32. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 10, 1-22 ; *Vāyupurāṇa*,93/1-94.
33. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 10, 30-32.

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Tṛtsu.[34] Pūru also appears to have been settled on the bank of the Sarasvatī.[35] Yadu and Turvaśa lived, probably, lower down near the mouth of the Sarasvatī close to the seashore. It has been related of them that they had once crossed the sea and lived on its further shores, very likely in modern Gujrat and their kings remained unanointed, whereupon Indra crossed the sea and brought them back again to the shores of Saptasindhu[36] and recovered them from barbarism into which they had probably been relapsing, cut off as they had been from their kin. They resettled on the bank of the Sarasvatī in its lower course, where they performed many sacrifices. But as they had been at first heterodox in faith, they have been described in a *Ṛgvedic*[37] verse as belonging to the *Dāsa* tribe, for any one who did not subscribe to the *Ṛgvedic* faith was put down as a *Dāsa*.

A critical examination of the *Ṛgvedic* references to the five sons of Yayāti brings to light certain important facts which are corroborated by the Purāṇic evidence bearing on them. All the five brothers are mentioned together in the *Ṛgveda* only once or twice, otherwise they are generally mentioned in two groups—(i) comprising Yadu and Turvaśa, the two sons of Yayāti's first wife Devayānī, the daughter of Uśanas, (ii) comprising Druhyu, Anu and Pūru, the three sons of Yayāti's second wife Śarmiṣṭhā, the daughter of Vṛṣaparvan.[38] This suggests that the first two sons of Yayāti born of the same mother lived close together in weal and woe, especially when their mother might have lost favour of Yayāti after his marriage with Śarmiṣṭhā. The remaining three sons born of Śarmiṣṭhā are closely allied together and may have worked in co-operation. Besides, Yadu along with his real brother Turvaśa, is associated with a region to the south of Saptasindhu, the centre of Aryan civilization, beyond the pale of civilized life, where they lived in the midst of barbarians; hence they came to be regarded as *Dāsas*. On tne other hand, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru, the three sons of the second and favourite wife of Yayāti, are associated with the regions of the rivers Sarasvatī and Śutudrī in the very heart of Saptasindhu. This clearly suggests the stepmotherly treatment meted out to Yadu and Turvaśa, the two sons of Devayānī, as also the favouritism shown to Druhyu, Anu and Pūru, the three sons of the more favoured Sarmiṣṭhā whose youngest son Pūru inherited the paternal dominions. All this may easily be corroborated by the evidence of the Purāṇas, which tell us that Pūru, having agreed to exchange his youth for the old age of his father, inherited the dominions of his father, who cursed

34. *Ibid.*, IV, 10, 23-29, *Vāyupurāṇa*, 93/94-101.
35. A. C. Das, *Ṛgvedic Culture*, pp. 353-354.
36. *Ṛgveda*, I, 63, 7.
37. *Ibid.*, VII, 96, 2
38. *Ibid.*, I, 54, 6, IV, 30 19m, VI, 20, 12.

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his remaining four sons Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu and Anu, and they were banished in all directions in the regions on the borders of his dominions. But Pūru, good natured as he was even according to the *Ṛgveda*[39], assigned the outlying provinces of his empire to his four brothers, when Yadu was assigned to the south. The *Ṛgvedic* evidence also assigns Yadu to the southern region. During historical times also, the Yādavas, the descendants of Yadu, were associated with the south and west of India, in which dynasty lord Kṛṣṇa, the great Yādava, was born. The Yadava's of the 13th cen.A.D. also ruled in the Deccan, who were extirpated by Allauddin Khilji and his minister Malik Kafur in the beginning of the fourteenth century. With regard to Pūru, the youngest son of Yayāti, we know that he prolonged the main line, which ruled in northern India. The rulers of this line were known as Pauravas, perhaps. the last of whom was defeated by Alexender the Great in the famous battle of the Jhelum in 326 B.C.

The facts deduced as a result of the comparative study of the *Ṛgvedic* and Purāṇic evidence about Yayāti and his five sons Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu, and Pūru clearly establish their importance in the political and religious history of the Vedic age. Yayāti and his five sons must have played a dominant role in the religious and political life of the period, that is how they are remembered in the *Ṛgveda* and the Purāṇas. They are important in history not merely on the ground of their being so illustrious in their own times, but also on account of their giving rise to different well-known ruling dynasties spread over different parts of India.

Pūru,[40] the youngest son of Yayāti, continued the main line in north India. Thirteenth in succession from him was Kaṇva,[41] who together with his son Medhātithi composed so many *Ṛgvedic*[42] hymns. Kaṇva was the originator of *Kāṇvāyan Brāhmaṇas*. His younger brother Aivīna continued the line through his eldest son Duṣyanta, the father of the famous Bharata, known as *Bharata Dauṣyanti* to the Brāhmaṇas.[43] Bharata's adopted son Vitatha Bhardvāja was an illustrious Vedic seer.[44] The famous Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, were also born in the same dynasty.

39. *Ibid.*, X, 62, 10.

40. *Vāyupurāṇa*, 93/90, *Matsayapurṇāa*, 24/55-56.

41. VII, 18, 13.

42. *Harivaṁśa.*, Chapter 30, *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 19, *Matsyapurāṇa*, Chapter 49, *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99/126.

43. He may perhaps be identified with *Kaṇvo Ghaur*, the seer of so many Vedic hymns. *Ṛgveda*, I, 37-43, etc.

44. *Ṛgveda*, I, 12-23 etc.

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The dynasty founded by Yadu[45] ruled over the Deccan, and several great kings were born in it. Arjuna Kārtavīrya was the most important king of the dynasty. He was a great conqueror and had imprisoned even Rāvaṇa. He suffered death at the hands of Paraśurāma, the Bhārgava. His son and successor established a dynasty at Avanti, which later on branched off into five—Bhoja, Āvantya etc., Yadu's second son Kroṣṭu originated another line in the south-west, Kaṁsa was the last ruler. Lord Kṛṣṇa was also born in a sub-branch of the same line. The dynasty founded by Turvaśa, the second son of Yayāti, ruled over south-east. The last ruler of the dynasty being issueless, it merged into the Paurava line. The third dynasty founded by Druhyu, the third son of Yayāti, ruled over the north-west. His descendants are described as ruling over the *Mlechhas*. Anu, the fourth son of Yayāti, established his dynasty in the east. Thus, all the five sons of Yayāti spread the network of their dynasties in the whole of India including the south.

In the light of the facts stated above, the Indologists will have to revise their opinion about the *Ṛgvedic* Aryans, as established in Saptasindhu (Kabul Valley and Punjab) country only, the rest of India being unknown to them. Evidence of the Purāṇas clearly establishes that the whole of India was occupied by the five sons of Yayāti, who are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* and have been misconstrued as five tribes by the Vedic scholars. Hence, it has to be admitted that the *Ṛgvedic* Aryans had colonized the whole of India.

Thus, it is established that without the help of the Purāṇic evidence correct historical perspective about the oldest phase of ancient Indian history cannot be had. It is with the help of the Purāṇas that all misconceptions about the political history of *Ṛgvedic* age can be set right.

44a. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 23, 1; *Śata-patha Brāhmaṇa*, XII, 5. 4. 11-12.
45. *Ibid.*, VI, 1,30, 37-43, 53-74, IX, 67, 1-8.
46. *Harivaṁśa*, Chapter 33; *Agnipurāṇa*, Chapter 275.

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A NOTE ON THE LOGIC AND EPISTEMOLOGY OF THE CĀRVĀKAS

Prof. Sadashiv N. Athavale

Thinkers of ancient India made a serious attempt to answer fundamental questions as the Meaning of Life, the Nature of Universe and the like. They formulated problems and suggested solutions. They were, many times, more than convinced of their own answers. They also further supplied the method by which certain conclusions were arrived at. A student of ancient Indian thought has occasions to appreciate the flights of imagination and subtleties of reasoning, those early philosophers display in their intellectual pursuits. But one cannot also fail to see their tragic somersaults exhibited in their logical fallacies and verbal quibbles. And the Cārvākas alone seem to have kept themselves throughout clear-headed and consistent. That was due to their rational approach and scientific method, discussed in some details below.

The Nyāya philosophers with their major interest in Logic and Epistemology speak of four instruments of valid knowledge : Perception (प्रत्यक्ष), Inference (अनुमान), Comparison (अुपमान), and Testimony (शब्द). They do discuss the relative values of these instruments ; but they are not prepared to accept that a Vedic statement (श्रुतिवचन) is likely to be an untruth ! The Vaiseṣikas also record their faith in the words of the श्रुतिs and the स्मृतिs. The Sānkhyas dare ask whether it was absolutely necessary to start with God, but see nothing wrong in declaring the Vedas as अपौरुषेय. Vedas are creations of God according to the Yoga School. For the Mīmāṃsākas every letter of the Vedas is supernatural strength. All systems of philosophy with all the sects and cults that flourished within the fold of Brahminism seem to be particular about not questioning the authority of the Vedas. Many times they discussed matters unknown to the Vedas ; sometimes unknowingly they made statements that contradicted the Vedas, yet all along they swore श्रुतिप्रामाण्यम् ।. The Jains and the Buddhists did take the Vedas to task. But that was not even half a step forward. Nothing is gained by replacing the Vedas by new Āgamas. It is the same intellectual slavery with differences in minor details.[1]

1. No original sources are quoted so far ; for the author means nothing more than a few passing observations on various schools of Indian Thought.

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The Cārvākas take a logically different stand. They know no scriptures; they recognise no authority—even Bṛhaspati.[2] Verbal testimony is, according to them, thoroughly useless in the field of knowledge. One more Pramāṇa after the Nyāya System, namely Upamāna, is also unacceptable to them.[3] Perception and Inference are the two Pramāṇas to which the Cārvākas give a serious thought.

The Cārvākas hold perception as the most dependable means of valid knowledge. Things perceived by the five sense-organs are real. The real world is the perceptible world. It is an aggregate of objects and qualities perceived through five sense-organs namely the tactual organ (स्पर्श); the gustatory organ (रस); the olfactory organ (गंध); the visual organ (रूप) and the auditory organ (ध्वनि).[4] Are dreams and mirages real? Are there two moons in the sky because a man with defective eyes actually sees things that way? The Cārvākas are challenged with childish questions like these. A specimen of this level of criticism may be read in a comparatively later work in dialogue form.[5] The dialogue runs :—

The Opponent: "You do not exist if your body is not seen; whether you are out of your house or out of the world is immaterial. Does not, then, your wife become a widow when you are out of station?"

The Atheist: "No. There is a possibility of my reappearance when I am out of station. That is not the case when I am dead."

The Opponent: "Yes, but how does your wife know that you are alive when you are out of station and out of sight?"

The Atheist: "By means of a letter, message etc."

Here the opponent thinks that he has scored a point over the Cārvāka for the latter has accepted a Pramāṇa other than Pratyaksha and has, in fact, accepted Anumana as a means of knowledge. Even Jayant,[6] Udayana,[7] Kamalaśila[8] and others have made similar arguments. The exact position of the Cārvākas should be known from their analysis of Inference as an instrument of valid knowledge.

2. Bṛhaspati is the traditional founder of the Cārvāka School.

3. Some other systems like the वैशेषिक also discard अुपमान.

4. पञ्चप्रकार प्रत्यक्ष दृष्टमेव वस्तुतत्वं प्रमाणपदवीमवगाहते। लघुवृत्ति on हरिभद्रसूरि's "षड्दर्शन समुच्चय" (Benaras, 1905), p. 72; सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह Ch. I.

5. विद्वन्मोदतरङ्गिणी: Tarang 3 (Calcutta, 1872) by चिरंजीव भट्टाचार्य (1703).

6. न्यायमञ्जरी.

7. न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलि.

8. तत्वसंग्रह-पञ्जिका.

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Many Brahmin, Jain and Buddhist writers like Jayanta, Udayana, Śāntrakshit, Kamalaśila, Vadirājasūri, Prabhâchandrasuri etc., have recorded the views of the Cārvākians. Quotations from the Cārvākas reproduced by Prabhāchandrasūri and others are as follows :—

विशेषेऽनुगमाभाबात् सामान्ये सिद्धसाधनात् ।
तद्वतोऽनुपपन्नत्वादनुमानकथा कुतः ॥
साहचर्ये च संबंधे विश्रंभ अिति मुग्धता ।
शतकृत्वोऽपि तद्दृष्टौ व्यभिचारस्य संभवात् ॥
देशकालदशाभेदविचित्रात्मसु वस्तुषु ।
अविनाभाव नियमो न शक्यो लब्धमञ्जुसा ।
भवन्नप्यविनाभावः परिच्छेत्तुं न शक्यते ।
जगत्यथ गताशेषपदार्था लोचनाद्विना ॥
न प्रत्यक्षीकृता यावदधूमाग्निव्यक्तयोऽखिलाः ।
तावस्यादपि धूमोऽसौ योऽनग्नेरिति शङ्क्यते ॥
ये तु प्रत्यक्षतः विश्वं पश्यन्ति हि भवादृशः ।
किं दिव्यचक्षुषांतेषामनुमाने प्रयोजनम् ॥
सामान्यद्वारकोऽप्यस्ति नाविनाभावनिश्चयः ।
वास्तवं हि न सामान्यं नाम किञ्चन विद्यते ॥
भूयोदर्शनगम्यापि न व्याप्तिरवकल्पते ।
सहस्रशोऽपि तद्दृष्टौ व्यभिचारावधारणात् ॥
बहुकृतोऽपि वास्त्वात्मा तथेति परिनिश्चितः ।
देशकालादिभेदेन दृश्यते पुनरन्यथा ॥
भूयोदृष्ट्या च धूमोऽग्निसहचारीति गम्यताम् ।
अनग्नौ तु स नास्तीति न भूयोदर्शनादिति ॥
न चाप्यदृष्टिमात्रेण गमकः सहचारिणः ।
तत्रैव नियतत्वं हि तदन्यथाऽभावपूर्वकम् ॥
नियमश्चानुमाङ्गत्वं गृहीतः प्रतिपद्यते ।
ग्रहणञ्चास्य नान्यत्र नास्तितानिश्चयं विना ॥
दर्शनाऽदर्शनाभ्यां तु नियमगृहणं यदि ।
तदप्यसदनग्नौ हि धूमस्येष्टमदर्शनम् ॥
अनग्निश्च कियान् सर्वं जगज्ज्वलनवर्जितम् ।
तत्र धूमस्य नास्तित्वं नैव पश्यन्त्ययोगिनः ॥
तदेव नियमाभावात् सत्यपि ज्ञप्त्यसंभवात् ।
अनुमानप्रमाणत्वं दुराशा[9] परिमुच्यताम् ॥

9. प्रभाचन्द्रसूरि, भट्टाकलङ्कदेवकृत स्वविवृत्तियुत लघीयस्त्रयस्य अलङ्कारेभूत श्रीमत्प्रभाचंद्राचार्यकृतः न्यायकुमुदचंद्रः, ed. Mahendrakumar Nyayasastri (Bombay, 1938), pt. I, pp. 69-70.

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The Cārvākas contend that what the Nyāya philosophers call Vyāpti (invariable concomitance between the probans and the probandum) can never be known. Observation of some cases does not give a universal fact. Even numerous cases (भूयोदर्शन) do not lead us anywhere. In a particular connection you may observe 'all' cases and make a general statement; but then there is no inference! The two events together on a number of occasions only produce an expectation in the mind that they will always go together. But that is just an expectation, a probability: one cannot rush to universal causation.

But do we not go by a number of inferences in our every day lives? How do we know that rice is food and not poison? Or how is it that we refuse to take poison? Is it not our faith in the words of others or our decision determined by observation of 'some' cases only? How do the Cārvākas know that their opponents accept Inference unless they infer it from the words of the latter?[10] Almost every moment, we are acting upon some inference or the other. Complete denial of inference would make day-to-day dealings impossible. In the field of knowledge it would mean a big nothing.

And here, too, the Cārvākas were much clearer than the critics in their stand. As no genuine original work of a Cārvāk is available, we are not in a position to see all the points that they must have fully developed. Fortunately, however, we get some points of the Cārvākas as reproduced by their critics. Purandara, a Cārvāka quoted by Kamalaśīla, holds that inference is valid in regard to the perceptible world, but that it is not valid in regard to supersensible world.[11] Three is no doubt whatsoever when a thing is actually perceived. But when we cannot perceive, or choose not to perceive a thing, we should ascertain whether it is perceptible or otherwise. A modern rationalist for instance who has not himself visited Japan can presume the existence of that country. He meets people who have seen it by their visual organs, he reads about it, he sees it on the screen and further he comes across the Japanese. With all this a Cārvākist concludes: there is Japan because there are the Japanese; but there is no Other World for we never meet the citizens of the Other World: परलोकिनोऽभावात् परलोकाभावः।[12]

10. Kamalaśila, Panjika 1482-86.

11. पुरन्दरस्तु आह—लोकप्रसिद्धमनुमानं चार्वाकैरपीष्यत एव, यत्तु कैश्चिल्लौकिकं मार्गमतिक्रम्यानुमानमुच्यते तन्निषिध्यत इति। Kamalshila, 1482.

Purandara is also mentioned in सन्मतितर्कप्रकरणम्-तत्वबोधविधायिनी, स्याद्वादरत्नाकर etc.

12. तत्वोपप्लवसिंह—जयराशिभट्ट.

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The Cārvākas further say that in the ordinary course of life, as well as in scientific investigations, one may employ the method of inference, provided the inference is based on previous experience. Experience, of course, does not mean anything like spiritual or Yogic intuition; it plainly means knowledge acquired by one or more of the five sense-organs. Inference that has no roots in experience, in perceptible knowledge is a myth—pure and simple. And therefore an inference like rice is food is to be tentatively accepted while an inference like man goes to heaven or hell after death is to be totally rejected.[13] The Cārvākas insist that an inference is to be subjected to proper, scrutiny and verification. There is an interesting traditional story in this connection. A Cārvāka out to impress upon the mind of his wife the dangers of hasty inferences, one midnight, sketched the footprints of wolves all over the streets in his city. The next morning all the citizens, as he had expected, told one another that wolves visited the city last night.[14] "This is how," the Cārvāka said, "people come to believe heaven and hell." The Cārvākas warn that in the life of the individual and the society, you have to take the realities of the world as they are. You cannot live in a dreamland. And hence the necessity of being always on your senses.[15]

And further, in all cases where we employ inferences, they are to be taken only as probabilities (संभावना).[16] They are our general expectations. We have always to admit the possibility of our *anuman* going wrong.

The historical significance of the contributions of the Cārvākas to the growth of logic and Epistemology should be clear in the light of the details discussed above. They attacked misleading principles like the validity of the Vedas and the Authority of the Tirthankaras etc. They preached pure intellectualism. But to say that the Cārvākas were sounder than their contemporaries is to say much less than they deserve. They are the founders of rationalism. They detailed the methodology of rationalism. No advance on Cārvākianism has so far been made in

13. "सुशिक्षिततराः प्राहुः द्विविधमनुमानम्, किंचिदुत्पन्नप्रतीती, किंचिदुत्पाद्यप्रतीती, अीश्वराद्यनुमानं तु अुत्पाद्यप्रतीती"।—जयन्त-न्यायमंजरी, (Benaras, 1936), p. 113.

14. "भद्रे। वृकपदं पश्य"...etc. Gunaratna on षड्दर्शनसमुच्चय, Stanza 81.

15. जगद्व्यवहार विलोपप्रसंग अिति सुस्थितमिन्द्रियगोचरमेव प्रमाणम्। लघुवृत्ति on षड्दर्शनसमुच्चय Stanza 81.

16. "लोके धूमादिदर्शनोत्तरं वन्ह्यादिकव्यवहारस्तु प्रायेण वन्हिर्भविष्यति अित्यादि अिति भावः" जानकीनाथ विरचित, न्यायसिद्धान्तमंजरी—यादवाचार्यकृत टीका. (Benaras, 1916). तत्वचिंतामणि-अनुमाखंड etc.

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the history of Epistemology. Modern Western thought from Hume to Russel is not even an inch ahead of the Cārvākas. Lional Ruby describes the present standpoint thus :

" What one age considers absolutely true another age often rejects. And are not the ideas of today as much subject to error as those of the past ? How can then we ever claim to know the truth about anything ? The best answer to this question is found in the theory of probability..... We can never be certain that no error has occurred or that some factor has not been overlooked. And to say that a belief may be questioned means that it is not absolutely certain. No scientific statement then is exempt from the requirement of proof and no proof can be final."[17]

One can see a clear and exact anticipation of this footing in the aphorisms of the Cārvākas. An intellectual in search of truth will perhaps never be able to take a better position.

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17. Linonel Ruby, *The Art of making sense* (London, 1956), p. 192.
See also Max Black, *Critical Thinking. An introduction to Logic and Scientific method*, p. 174.

AŚOKA AND THE TAXILĀ INSCRIPTION

PROF. RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

Since the discovery of the Taxilā Inscription by Marshall in 1915 and its publication by Herzfeld[1], there has been a number of conjectures in the scholarly world. The difficulty with this inscription is that it is not dated and does not expressly bear the name of the ruling monarch, though there are some indications in this respect. The inscription is in the Aramaic (Khāroṣṭhī) script and on palæographical grounds it has been assigned to the third century B. C. Practically no importance has been attached to this record by such eminent scholars as K. A. Nilkaṇṭha Śāstrī, B. M. Barua, H. C. Raychaudhuri, D. R. Bhandarkar and R. K. Mookherji[2] and others. While studying Aśoka, these scholars probably did not think it necessary to take into account this inscription in their studies on the subject. Recently an eminent Soviet Indologist Mr. G M. Bongard-Levin has published a critical study of Aśoka's "Taxilā Inscription" in the *Sovietskoye Vostokovedenie* (1956, No. 1, Moscow). The main findings of the learned scholar are :—

(*a*) "*Prydr*" May be connected with Aśoka (Priyadarśī)—a theory already enunciated by Herzfeld and Andreas.

(*b*) Definition of the date of the inscription depends upon the correct interpretation of the term Priyadarśī.

(*c*) Priyadarśī was the personal name of Aśoka and not his Buddhist denomination (as V. A. Smith thinks), or the usual title of the Indian rulers.

(*d*) Priyadarśī was used only in application to Aśoka.

(*e*) The date of the inscription may be placed approximately before 272 B.C., when Aśoka ascended the throne of Magadha after serving as Viceroy at Taxilā, and later at Ujjain.

(*f*) The name Priyadarśī as connected with king Aśoka is well in keeping with historical dates.

(*g*) The Taxilā discovery is the only Armaic inscription found in India.

1. Herzfeld, "Taxilā Fragmentary Armaic Inscription of a Mauryan King," *EI*, vol. XIX, p. 251.

2. K. A. N. Sāstrī (Ed.), *Age of the Nandas and the Mauryas*; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*; B. M. Barua, *Asoka and his Inscription*; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*; R. K. Mookherji, *Asoka*; V. A. Smith, *Asoka*.

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The point raised by the Soviet Indologist deserves careful consideration at our hands. His main contention is that " Priyadarśī was the real name of Aśoka." Herzfeld assigns the right half of an Aramaic inscription of Taxilā to Aśoka, though Barnett and Cowley placed it in the 4th. century B.C. Barua holds that many of the scribes, employed by Aśoka, to engrave his records were persons who hailed from Uttarāpatha, and with whom the habitual form of writing was Khārosṭhi.[3] Levin places the record in the third century B.C. (272), when Aśoka ascended the throne. The *Divyāvadāna*[4] says that Aśoka was deputed once to Taxilā to suppress a revolt. This is supported by a *Separate Rock Edict* of Aśoka wherein the possibility of his having been appointed or deputed as a royal military governor is indicated.[5] The same record speaks of the three Kumāra-Viceroys stationed at Ujeni, Taxilā and Toshālī.

How and when this record came to be inscribed is a matter of controversy and there are enough grounds even now for further study on the subject. Taxilā was on the main route and lay on the great highway frequented by the travellers from the east and the west. It was the main city of the hinter-Indus territory of the Gāndharas[5a]. Aśoka had been to that place to suppress a revolt. The *Sre*-1 is clear on the point that the Kumāras were regular Viceroys having unlimited powers. They could send on tours[6] Mahāmātras of their own every three years and make inspection and so on. It appears that the governor of Taxilā was sufficiently powerful to have his own Mahāmātras. It seems natural, too, as the distant provinces could not be directly controlled by the rulers at Pātaliputra. The people of Taxilā must have felt the strength of Aśoka during his régime there, when he had been there to suppress the revolt.

From the epithet, used in the Taxilā inscription, it is crystal clear that the record was incised when Aśoka had ascended the throne. The title " *Pryde* " was probably not used by him when he was a prince. If the record be ascribed to the period of his viceroyalty, the vexed question of his real name would come up for consideration. The Buddhist legends are definite on the point that the title Priyadarśī was conferred on Aśoka after a particular period. The record, under review, involves the question of date and the name of the ruling Emperor

3. Barua, *Asoka and his Inscriptions*, pt. II p. 9.

4. *Divyāvadāna* (PTS), p. 371 ff.

5. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 44 (SRE-1)—हेमेवतरव [सि] लातेपि.

5a. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 207, 43; *Rāmāyana*, VII.114,11; *Vāyupurāṇa*, 88,189-90

6. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 44, line 25.
ते महामता निखमिसंति अनुएयानं अहापयितु अतने कंमं एतं पि जानि संति।

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as well. According to the *Dīpavaṁśa*[7], Aśoka was consecrated under the title of Priyadarśin in 265-4 B.C. when Mahendra was twenty years old. The same source[8] states that Aśoka was anointed again as *Piyadasi* six years after the first consecration. Dr. Barua holds that this was probably a title conferred on Aśoka by the Buddhist fraternity of Pātaliputra.[9]

Levin holds that Priyadarśin was the real name of Aśoka. He has based his arguments on this inscription and the Buddhist legends. While *Devānāmpiya* is a very common title amongst the kings of ancient India, the word "Priyadarśī" is applied only in so far as Aśoka is concerned. *Devānāmpriya* is undoubtedly an honorific title used by the kings, but that is not the case with Priyadarśī. Dr. D. C. Sircar holds that as Chandragupta Maurya is also called "*Priyadarśan*," the present record may, therefore, belong to him.[10] Inspite of this assertion, he is not definite on the point and asserts in the same vein: "But if, the reference is to be found to the Buddhist '*Ayiro Atthangiko Maggo*', the possibility of the record being one of Aśoka is greater."[11] Herzfeld is of opinion that the word "*HU*" in line 5 of the inscription refers to moral sphere of ideas, *i.e.*, "*good thoughts, words and deeds*," but he believes them to be borrowed from Zoroastrianism. These moral ideas are the cardinal points of Buddhism and there is no sense in importing the Zoroastrian ideas in this record of Taxila where at least the name Priyadarśī distinctly stands for some Indian ruler. Perhaps the Aramaic character of the script weighed strongly with Mr. Herzfeld in his judgement. Such factors were responsible for mystifying the contents of the inscription. The contents of the inscription perhaps leave no ground for any doubt that it belongs to the reign of Aśoka. The only question is whether 'Priyadarśī' was the real name of Aśoka or not? From the text of the inscription, the following points are clear:—

(*a*) *Mran Prydr*-[12]"Mārāna Priyadar"(*-shī*)-Our Lord Priyadarśī.
(*b*) Herzfeld takes the title to refer to Aśoka Maurya.
(*c*) Line 10 refers to his "queens" or less probably his kingdom.[13]
(*d*) Line 11 means his "son"[14]
(*e*) Line 12 means "To Our Lord Priyadarśī[15]"

7. *Dipavaṁśa*, VI.24; For various names etc, Cf. *Ibid.*, VI. 1,21; Buddhaghosh-*Sumañgalavilāsinī*, II, 613; *Divyāvadāna*, 370. Here we have to remember that these legends were primarily meant for the religious edification of the faithful. Cf. K. A. N. Sastri (Ed.), *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 203.
8. *Dīpavaṁsa*, VI. 24.
9. Barua, *op.cit.*, p. 17 n.
10. Sircar, *op.cit.*, pp. 81-82 n.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*

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According to lines 11 and 12 the record cannot be said to belong to any other person except Aśoka.[16] Read along with lines 5, 11 and 12, we may say that the moral teachings were of the time of Aśoka, whose son Kunāla was associated with Taxilā. From all the traditional sources, *viz.*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Rājtarāngīni*, Tārānātha's *Tibetan History*, one can collect names of just four sons of Aśoka, of whom Kunāla Tivala was deputed as Viceroy of Taxilā.[17] These accounts are no doubt confused but this fact stands supported by Fāhien, who says[18]: "This is the place, which Dharmavardhana, the son of Aśoka, governed." Even if there be some doubt this way, we cannot preclude the possibility of the record being of the time of Aśoka or of one whose name was "*Prydr*". As Aśoka had been once to Taxilā he must have realised the importance of the area and probably got this record created after he became king. The Aramaic character speaks of his liberality, because the people of those areas were Khāroṣṭhī speaking. *Prydr* here stands for Aśoka.

Was it his real name? From a study of his own inscriptions spread throughout the length and breadth of the country, it appears that his name was "*Prydr*". It has been shown above that *Devānāmpriya* was an honorific title, and hence it had no connection with the actual name of the king. But that is not the case with the famous epithet "Priyadarśi," which has been definitely used for Aśoka and none else. A glance over the Buddhist records will convince us of the fact that Priyadarśī indicated Aśoka and none else. It was not a title conferred on Aśoka as is supposed by Barua.[19]

"*Piyadassana*" occurs repeatedly in the *Dīpavaṁśa* as equivalent of Aśoka, probably in the same sense as is applied by Vālmīki to Rāma.[20] In none of the various versions of the *Minor Rock Edicts* the epithet "Priyadarśī Rājā" is employed.[21] His name appears only once in the Māskī record.[22] Rock and Pillar Edicts, engraved between 12th and 26th year of the coronation, contain '*Devānāmpiye Piyadasi*' and the same epithet appears in the *Barābar Cave hill Inscriptions*. Priyadarśī has been written in various forms and spellings in different Rock

16. If 'Priyadarsan' be applied to Chandragupta Maurya, how can it be ascribed to Asoka in any way, as he was the grandson of Chandragupta?
17. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 407 ff.
18. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. I., p. XXXI.
19. *op.cit.*, p. 17 n.
20. *Rāmāyana*, I, 1.3.
21. Barua, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-17.
22. देवानां पियस असोकस.

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Edicts, as will be seen below. Piyadasina, Piyadasino, Piyadasi,[23] Pṛyadrā[24] (śidaraja), Pṛya (dra)[25] si, Pṛyadrasi[26], Pṛyadraśisa.[27]

As has been pointed out above, we have no definite information about the meaning and significance of the term "*Prydr.*" The word 'Aśoka' occurs only once in the whole range of his epigraphical material, while the name 'Priyadarśika' is more frequent than 'Aśoka'. It is likely that it may be his real name. 'Aśoka' means a man free from all anxieties. To me it seems that when after the Kalinga war Aśoka became free from all worldly and trifling anxieties, he called himself 'Aśoka', and that his real name was something else. It is really very astonishing that the word 'Aśoka' occurs only once. Why did he not mention his name frequently is a pertinent question. We are greatly indebted to the Russian scholar who has tried to answer this pertinent question. We find that 'Priyadarśika' is common to all the inscriptions except a few ones.[28] Since this name is more common than Aśoka, it is likely that it may be his real name. Probably Priyadarśika Aśoka was his full name and not Priyadarśika only, as the Russian Savant thinks. Even the philological approach to the study of the Taxilā inscription would lead us to that conclusion. 'Prydr' of Taxilā record corresponds closely, rather word for word, with 'Pṛydra' (*R.E.* 5), 'Pṛydra' (*R.E.* 9-12), 'Prydra' (*R.E.* 12-13). The use of the same type of word, with slight linguistic variations on account of two different characters for Priyadarsika, is indicativeof the fact that Aśoka's name was Priyadarśika Aśoka. Since Priyadarśī is a pleasant word carrying good and auspicious meaning, the Emperor frequently used it in his epigraphs so much so that he actually forgot to mention Aśoka anywhere except once. Buddhist tradition helps us in ascertaining that he was 'Piyadassan Asoka'.[29] 'Piyadasi Lājā Māgadhe' indicated Aśoka and none else. According to Buddhaghosha, the prince Piyadasa will be anointed Aśoka 218 years after the Buddha's demise.[30] Regarding the date, no last word can be said on the basis of the fragmentary Taxilā Inscription. Levin puts it at 272 B.C. But it is not desirable in the present state of our knowledge to arrive at any conclusion on this issue. Futher evidence may throw some light on this vexed question.

23. *RE* 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 14. *Piyasā* occurs in queen's *Pillar Edict*, while we have *Piyadasaka* in the *Bairat Inscriptions*.

24. *RE* 5.

25. *Ibid.*, 7.

26. *Ibid.*, 9, 12.

27. *Ibid.*, 13.

28. There is no such mention in *Kauśāmbi Pillar Inscription* (Allhabad), *Sāñchī Pillar Inscription*, and *Sārnāth Pillar Edict*.

29. For a different view, see Barua, *op.cit.*, p. 18, where he holds that Aśoka assumed the title of Priyadarśin in his inscriptions dating from the 12th year of Abhiṣeka.

30. *Sumañgala-Vilāsīni*, vol. II, p. 613 ff.

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IRRIGATION IN NORTHERN INDIA DURING THE POST-MAURYA PERIOD*

(*circa* 200 B.C.—*circa* A.D. 200)

DR. R. S. SHARMA

In regard to irrigation in Post-Maurya times there is lack of such consolidated literary evidence as is available in the case of the Maurya period; but references scattered in contemporary sources leave no doubt that the subject was still considered to be of sufficient importance. A Smṛti verse from the *Ādi Parva*, while discussing the relative value of well, tank, Kratuḥ sacrifice, son and truth, points out that a tank is a hundred times more important than a well.[1] The lawbook of Manu provides that the boundaries between two villages should be determined by tanks, ponds, channels and other reservoirs of water.[2] obviously the idea was that these water reservoirs would not only form natural boundaries but would also supply water for irrigation to the adjacent plots of land. Manu also lays down that the boundary should be determined by constant flow of water between two villages (satatamudakasyāgamena),[3] which probably implies artificial channels always fed by water because even rivers dry up in summer. Further, the brāhmaṇical law books of the period prescribe very stringent punishments for those who cause any harm to water reservoirs. Manu ordains that one who destroys the embankment of a tank should be either drowned in water or put to death by beheading.[4] But if the offender repairs the tank, he should be punished with *uttama sāhasa* (*i.e.*, a fine of 1000 paṇas according to the comm.).[5]

*. Abbreviations
AI = Andient India, Delhi.
ASR = Archæological Survey of India, Reports.
CII = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
DK = Dharmakosa, Ed. Lakshman Sastri, Bombay.
EI = Epigraphia Indica, Calcutta and Delhi.
M = Manu.

1. 69.17-21, 23-28 quoted in *DK*, I. pt. III, 1985.
2. VIII. 248.
3. VIII. 252.
4. IX. 279.
5. *Ibid.*

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Viṣhṇu states that the king should give capital punishment to one who destroys the embankment (setubhedakān).[6] This may apply to the embankment of a pond, a canal or even a river, the object being to preserve water for proper use and to prevent the land from being flooded. It is also provided that one who makes unauthorised use of a tank formerly built for the good of the subjects, or destroys the channel of water by raising embankments, should be punished with the first or heaviest fine.[7] The above provisions clearly testify to the great utility of tanks, ponds and other embanked water reservoirs for the welfare of the people.

The general pattern of irrigation seems to have been the same in post-Maurya times as in subsequent times in India, namely by wells, tanks, canals and rivers. Archæological excavations have brought to light several terracotta ring-wells belonging to the period 600-200 B.C. These have been found at Hastināpura,[8] New Delhi,[9] Rupar,[10] Ujjain,[11] Mathura,[12] and Nasik.[13] While some of these ring-wells served as soakage pits, others were used as real wells; this was certainly the case with brick wells, for instance, the one which was found at Ujjain.[14] Besides, there is the epigraphic record of Aśoka about the construction of wells at every kos along the roads, and of the establishment of numerous drinking places. Thus the existing archæological evidence suggests that, in the Maurya period and the two centuries succeeding it, wells and especially ring-wells were constructed in sufficient numbers, but how far they were used for purposes of irrigation is not known. The fact that Aśoka established drinking places (apāna) in addition to wells might indicate that wells were also used for irrigation. Even in post-Maurya times the number of wells was not inconsiderable. The solitary ring-well of the Period IV(early second century B.C. to the third century A.D.), is, however, taken as suggesting that while the practice of constructing ring-wells continued into this period, they were certainly less common than in the preceding one.[15] Some ring-wells of the post-Maurya strata at Mathura[16] were perhaps used for supplying drinking water to the local population. A well discovered at Saheth has been assigned to the

6. V. 15 in *DK.* I. pt. III, 1609.
7. *M.* IX. 281.
8. *AI*, Nos. 10-11, p. 16.
9. *Ind. Arch.*, 1954-55, p. 14.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
11. *Ind. Arch.*, 1955-56, p. 19.
12. *Ind. Arch.*, 1954-55, p. 16.
13. H. D. Sankalia, *Report on the Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe*, 1950-51.
14. *Ind.Arch.*, 1956-57, p. 27.
15. B. B. Lal, *AI*, Nos. 10-11, p. 18.
16. *Ind. Arch.*, 1954-55, p. 16.

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second century A.D.[17] At the time of the excavations it yielded sweet and clear water, which was used by the labourers during the course of their work.[18] Epigraphic records refer to the well of Vashiśuga companions in N.W.F. Province, dated 4-3 B.C.,[19] and to the well constructed by an individual from Pushpapura, in order to confer benefit on himself and the other members of his family, and for the welfare of all beings in the various births.[20] The statement that the well was dug for the well-being may imply that it was used for providing drinking water as well as irrigation purposes, but there is no definite evidence for the latter proposition in the case of such wells. Unless we come across wells situated right in the middle of cultivable land without traces of habitation, we are not in a position to state that these wells were mainly meant for irrigation. There is, however, some indirect literary evidence to this effect. Patañjali presents a vivid description of a well-digger, who is covered with particles of earth while excavating, but the inconvenience caused thus is more than compensated when he makes use of the water that wells out, for this gives rise to an occasion of great prosperity.[21] This evidently implies that such wells added to the fertility of land by supplying water for irrigation. Again, Manu's provision of the lunar penance for wrongfully appropriating the water of wells and small tanks[22] may imply that these were meant for irrigation.

In contrast to the paucity of archæological evidence regarding the construction of wells, we have several records of the construction of tanks in post-Maurya times. In the case of the earlier period we learn about the existence of a large tank embanked by brick wall and fed by rain-water through a brick-built inlet, assignable to the period *c.* 600-200 B.C.[23] On the other hand several tanks belonging to the post-Maurya period have been unearthed in North-Western India. There was a small and shallow reservoir for water in the courtyard of the apsidal temple at Sirkap, a Śaka-Parthian city with buildings of the first century A.D.[24] To the latter part of the same century is ascribed the tank at Dharmarājikā at Taxila.[25] These two tanks were meant for the use of monks and worshippers who paid visits to the sacred shrines of the Buddhists. But another tank which was made by the Greek Theodoros, the Datiaputra, probably in Swat, in honour of all beings,

17. Marshall, *ASR*, 1910-11, p. 24.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, No. 14, 11.1-2.

20. Sten Konow, "Āra Stone Inscription of Kanishaka," *EI*, vol. xiv, p. 143. This inscription is assigned to A.D. 119 D.C. Sircar, *select. Inscriptions*, vol. I p. 149.

21. *bhūyasācha abhyudayena yogo bhavati.* Kielhorn, i. 11.

22. haraṇe kūpavāpījalānāṃ cha. XI. 164.

23. *Ind.Arch.*, 1954-55, p. 9.

24. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. I. p. 155.

25. *Ibid.*, 247.

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on 5 July A.D. 29 may have been also used for irrigation.[26] Perhaps a tank in Kangra also served the same purpose. The Paṭhayār rock inscription, palæographically considered to be of the early Śaka type,[27] refers to the existence of a pond belonging to Vāyula, the Rāṭhītara. If Rāṭhī is identified with Rāṭhī, an agricultural cast in Kangra,[28] we may surmise that the pond was used for agricultural purposes by Vāyula, who was probably the head of the agricultural caste (Rāṭhītara) in the Paṭhayār area. On the basis of a fragmentary stone inscription in Kharoshṭhī, as deciphered by Sten Konow,[29] it would appear that a pond was constructed by Kṛśakavi, who mentions the name of his father and grandfather. But these cannot be read. In all likelihood, irrigation was the object of several tanks at Mathura, belonging to the first century A.D. or earlier. Thus the Mathura stone inscription of the time of the Śaka ruler Soḍāsa (*c.* A.D. 50) informs us that his Brāhmaṇa treasurer, of the Śaigrava gotra, constructed a tank, the western bank of the twin tanks and a reservoir.[30] In the course of excavations at Besnagar some fragments of tanks were noticed near the shrine of the platform of Vāsudeva (second century B.C.).[31] But we do not get any further details about them.

Indirect evidence of the popularity of tanks in North-Western India and U.P. is furnished by the practice of offering ritual tanks, which have been discovered at Taxila, Hastināpura, Udaipur, Ahicchatrā (in Barelly), Kauśāmbī and Bhiṭā near Allahabad. Fifteen ritual tanks inclusive of fragments have been unearthed from Taxila,[32] many of which are generally assigned to the first century A.D.[33] Undoubtedly most of these belong to our period, although some are assigned by Marshall to the third-second century B.C.[34] About half a dozen votive tanks appear in Hastināpura in about the first century A.D. when they also come into vogue in Taxila, Kauśāmbī and Ahicchatrā.[35] A terracotta votive tank of the pre-Kushāṇa period has been discovered in a broken condition from Rājā-Karaṇa-kā-kilā at Thaneser,[36] and bears close similarity to analogous finds from other places in North India. In the village of Ahar in Udaipur, votive tanks were a feature of the upper culture, probably contemporaneous with Kushāṇa times.[37]

26. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, No. 24, 11-1-3.
27. Stein, *EI*, vol. XVI, p. 118, fn. 3.
28. Vogel *EI*, vol. XVI, p. 117. 29. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 179.
30. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 119, 11-1-3.
31. *ASR*, 1914-5, pp. 66-7.
32. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 463.
33. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 104, 145, 180.
34. *Ibid.*. 4636-4.
35. *AI*, Nos. 10-11, pp. 18-9.
36. *IHQ*, vol. XXXI, pp. 307-8.
37. *Ind.Arch.*, 1954-55, p. 14.

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Several specimens of votive tanks have been discovered at Ahicchatrā, ascribable to the period *c.*A.D. 100—200.[38] It has been argued that these votive tanks suggest Parthian or Indo-Parthian analogues,[38a] but Marshall's arguments that these tanks were essentially Indian in character cannot be brushed aside lightly. He noticed some broken tank-shrines of the same kind as found at Taxila as far as Bhiṭā near Allahabad in the heart of Hindustan, where the Parthians never penetrated. Further, he points out that idols in the tank-shrines were familiar in India from pre-historic times.[39] Whatever might be the origin of the votive tanks, the practice of offering them obviously indicates the great importance which was attached to the construction of tanks in U. P. and the north-western parts of the country—precisely the areas where irrigation was necessary. It seems that construction of tanks for the well-being of the community was considered an act of great religious merit. But as this was not possible in the case of ordinary folk, they contented themselves with making ceremonial offerings of imitation tanks. An important literary text of the period, the *Milinda-pañho*, refers to *taḷāka-pokharaṇi* in the city of Sāgala, *i.e*, modern Sialkot.[40]

Evidence for the existence of tanks during this period is also found in Kaliṅga and the adjacent areas of West Bengal. The Hāthīgumphā inscription informs us about the repair and enclosing of a tank in Kaliṅga-nagarī by Khāravela.[41] Barua reads the relevant passage as *gabhīra-sītala-taḍāga* and points out that the deep cool tanks served as reservoirs of water for drinking, bathing and washing purposes.[42] The purpose of a brick-built stepped tank at Tamluk, belonging to the first-second centuries A.D., is not known,[43] but may have been the same as that of tanks in Kaliṅga, because Tamluk was an important port-town carrying on trade with Rome.

Epigraphic records show that several tanks were constructed in Western and South-Western India during the second century A.D. The Junāgaḍh inscription of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman (A.D. 150) narrates the history of the Sudarśana lake in Saurāshṭra. According to it the lake was originally constructed by the vaiśya rāshṭriya Puṣyagupta under Chandragupta Maurya, and maintained by Aśoka's governor Yavana rājā Tushāshpa (1.8). There is no information about the fortunes of the lake for about another four hundred years. But we learn that

38. *AI*, No. 4, p. 125, Plates. XXXVIII-XXXIX.
38a. *Ibid.*
39. *Taxila*, vol. II, pp. 467-8.
40. R. D. Vadekar, *Milindapanho*, Bombay, 1940, p. 2.
41. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
42. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 288.
43. *Ind. Arch.*, 1954-55, p. 20.

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in the time of Rudradāman the dam of the lake burst because of the over-whelming flood and onrush of the rivers Suvarṇarekhā, Palāśini, etc., (11.5-6), and was repaired under the supervision of the Śaka ruler's governor, the Parthian amātya Suviśākha, the son of Kulaipa (1.19). It was a major repair, for the breach was 420 cubits long and 75 cubits deep (11.7-8); but now the embankment was made three times more durable (triguṇa dṛḍhatara, 1.16). Rudradāman's achievement seems to have been all the more creditable, for he accomplished this public work by spending enormous wealth out of his own pocket, without burdening his subjects with taxes, forced labour and emergency impositions (apīḍayitvā karavishṭipraṇayakriyābhiḥ, (1.16). Through the repair of the tank he dispelled the widespread despair among his subjects (1.18) and brought much needed relief to the people by preserving its water, accumulated through rains and floods, for the irrigation of the neighbouring lands. In one sense the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman is a very remarkable record. Usually the early inscriptions display historical sense (mainly chronological) only in recounting conquests and compiling genealogical tables, but this is a singular case which helps us to reconstruct the history of a lake and thereby testifies to the enormous importance given to irrigation in this area. The tradition of constructing tanks in Western India was maintained under the successors of Rudradāman. The Ābhīra senāpati Rudrábhūti, who was in the service of the Śaka ruler Rudrasiṁha, constructed a tank in a village in Kathiawad in A.D. 181.[44] The object of this construction was to achieve the welfare of all human beings,[45] which may imply irrigation. Further south in Western India, the Nasik cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna (*c* A.D. 119-124) describes his son-in-law Ushavadāta as a builder of tanks and water-reservoirs.[46] Still further south, an inscription of about the first or second century A.D. from North Kanara District[47] refers to the minister Skandasvati who acted as the superintendent of work relating to gifts, *i.e.* a Nāga, a tank, and a monastery made by the Mahābhojī Śivaskandanāgaśrī, the daughter of the great king of Banawasi.[48]

The *Lüder's List* of inscriptions mentions numerous *poḍhis* or cisterns donated by bankers and other individuals to Buddhist monks in Western India during the time of the Sātavāhanas, but they cannot be regarded as tanks or reservoirs fit for purposes of irrigation ; they were meant either for supplying drinking water or for bathing. An example of the latter kind is provided by the bathing tank of the householder and banker Vasula.[49]

44. Sircar, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 176, 11.2-5.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 1.5.
46. *taḍāga-udapāna-karena. Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 161.1.2.
47. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 304.
48. *IA*, vol. XIV, p. 334.
49. *Lüder's List*, No. 1056.

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Most of the tanks known from the excavations and inscriptions seem to have been constructed during the first two centuries of the Christian era, when the Kushāṇas ruled over an empire extending from Khorasan in the north-west to Bihar in the south-east. The recent excavations of Professor S. P. Tolstov in Khorasan have brought to light canals assignable to Kushāṇa times, *i.e.*, to the first three centuries of the Christian era.[50] But archæology relating to the Kushāṇa period in India does not know of any canals so far. The canals brought to light by archæology belong either to the Maurya period or to the two centuries preceding the Christian era. At Kumrahar, a canal 45 feet broad, 10 feet deep and traced up to the length of about 450 feet, is assigned to the Maurya period;[51] and it is suggested that this canal was probably cannected with the Son, and then with the Gaṅgā, for bringing monolithic pillars from the Chunar quarries.[52] We can only guess that this canal may have been used for irrigation purposes. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela informs us about the existence of a *tivasasata* year old canal in Kaliṅgà Nagarī (1.6). The term *tivasasata* has been interpreted both as three hundred and a hundred and three years. On the basis of the second interpretation the original construction of the canal may be ascribed to the end of the Maurya period, provided we accept the position that palæographically the Hāthīgumphā inscription belongs to the first century B.C. Khāravela claims to have extended the old canal. His inscription records that in the fifth year of his reign he caused the canal opened by King Nanda, a hundred-and-three years back, to be brought into the capital from the Tanśūli road, and caused to be dug at the cost of a hundred thousand coins.[53] Obviously this costly work was accomplished by Khāravela in order to facilitate communication and irrigation.[54] Archæology has exposed the traces of a similarly old canal at Besnagar near the ancient city of Vidiśā in Madhya Pradesh. In the course of his excavations at this place in 1914-15 D.R. Bhanadarkar discoverd certain walls, which, in his opinion, were the remnants of an irrigation canal.[55] Compared to the Maurya canal at Kumrahar it was smaller in size. At the excavated site the canal was 7 feet broad, and the walls were five feet and six inches high. One limb of the canal represented by the north and south walls, was 185 feet and 4 inches long.[56] Bhandarkar adds that the canal probably extended as far as the Beś river, hardly two furlongs from the site, for this alone could have supplied water to the

50. *Rāgula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Madhya-Asia kā Itihāsa*, i, 1061.

51. *Ind. Arch.*, 1954-5, p. 19 ; *Kumrahar Excavation Report* (in press) p. 24. (shown to me by the courtesy of Dr. A. S. Altekar).

52. *Ibid.*

53. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 43.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

55. *ASR*, 1914-15, p. 69, Plate XLIX.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-1.

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canal. He thinks it highly probable that the river Beś was originally dammed (at the present ford) and its water carried on to irrigate fields, the east or right bank occupied by the ancient town of Vidiśā. According to him the present canal may have been a storage canal.[57] In our opinion the canal at Besnagar may have been an inundation canal, for rivers in Central India overflow their banks in rainy season and dry up in summer. Bhandarkar thinks that the canal was in use prior to 165 B.C.[58] and may have been Maurya or possibly pre-Maurya in origin. Thus the two canals, described above, were constructed in Maurya times and continued to be in use afterwards ; the canal in Kalinga was extended by Khāravela, but we have no solid evidence for the construction of new canals during our period.

Nevertheless, some literary evidence points to the use of water-channels in post-Maurya times. Thus Patañjali speaks of canals for irrigating fields.[59] His references suggest the existence of small channels for conserving rain-water and carrying it to the paddy fields. The use of the term *Kusūla* in the *Mahābhāshya* has been interpreted as meaning that each paddy field was enclosed by a dyke.[60] Although the term *kuśūla* or *kusūla* is commonly used in the sense of granary,[61] in a reference from Patañjali it is used in the sense of a dyke; for this speaks of the breaking down of the *kuśūla* which was built recently when there were neither rains nor winds.[62] But we cannot say whether the small channels were fed by some big permanent canals. Manu's references to *prasravaṇāni* and *satatamudakāgama* might indicate some channels or rivers for irrigation purposes.[63] His another provision that the brāhmaṇas who divert water-courses or take delight in obstructing them[64] should be punished clearly implies the use of water-channels by these people for their own selfish ends.

On account of the comparative inadequacy of the artificial means for irrigation the chief hope of the peasants lay in the inundation of their land by the flooded rivers during the rainy season. Some indication of this is to be found in a grammatical illustration which informs us that the banks of the Devikā river were specially suitable for growing paddy crops.[65] This was particularly true of the lower Gaṅgā basin, which was watered by the Gaṅgā and its tributaries. It is this which accounts for the comparative absence of wells, tanks and canals in this area.

57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
59. *Sālyartham klyāḥ praṇiyante, tābhyaścha pānīyaṃ pīyat upaspṛśyate cha śālyascha bhāvyante.* Kielhorn, i. 82, 276, iii. 39.
60. B. P. Mukherjee, *IHQ*, vol. xxxi, p. 376.
61. *bhidyamānaḥ kuśūlaḥ pātrāṇi bhinatti.* Kielhorn, ii. 66.
62. *nivāte nirabhivarshe achirakālarṭaḥ.* Kielhorn, ii. 67.
63. VIII, 248, 252.
64. III, 316.
65. *devikakulaḥ salyaḥ.* Kielhorn, iii. 316.

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The information about the organisational aspect of irrigation in post-Maurya times is scanty. The Arthaśāstra rules regarding the different rates of irrigation cess give some idea of the measures undertaken by the Maurya state for the irrigation of this country; but still this subject was not considered so important as to warrant the provision of a separate superintendent for it; this work was done by the sitādhyaksha or the superintendent of agriculture. In post-Maurya times there is hardly evidence of any organised machinery. But, as can be inferred from references noticed above, independent regional rulers, such as Khāravela and Rudradāman, and ministers such as Skandasvāti in the North Kanara District and Suviśākha in Saurāṭshra, are alive to their responsibility towards the irrigation of the land under their control. A passage in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman seems to suggest that irrigation works were commonly done by the state through the imposition of taxes, forced labour and emergency levies on the peasants[66], although the Śaka ruler did not resort to these practices. It is curious that irrigation cess, which is considered an important item of revenue in the Arthaśāstra,[67] does not figure in the long list of taxes from which brāhmaṇas or grantees are granted exemption in post-Maurya and Gupta inscriptions. The absence of irrigation taxes in later times can be explained in two ways. Firstly, the state generally ceased to bear the main responsibility for irrigation, and consequently could not claim any cess for that reason, as it did in the Maurya period. Secondly, whatever irrigation work was undertaken by the rulers was accomplished through occasional levies on peasants, which did not justify any regular payment.

Initiative for constructing tanks and ponds was also shown by individuals, for we have Manu's laws against the seizure of house, tank, orchard and fields by others.[68] The inclusion of tank in this list signifies that they were owned and constructed by individuals for irrigation purposes. Clear evidence on this point is provided by another injunction of Manu, according to which, amongst other things selling one's tank, garden, wife or child is declared a sin to be expiated by a penance.[69] We have also clear indication of co-operative efforts made by the villagers in matters concerning irrigation. Manu lays down that if a villager fails to do his best in the case of breach in the embankment of watercourses, the king should banish him out of the village bag and baggage.[70] This not only shows the obligation of the state to preserve embankments, but also implies co-operative efforts by the villagers for the construction of embankments, irrigation works etc., under the aegis of the state.

66. *aṇḍayitvā kara-vishṭi-praṇayakriyābhiḥ paurajānapadaṃ janaṃ*, 1.16.
67. *AS*, II. 24.
68. *grham taḍāgamārāmaṃ kshetram*. VIII. 264.
69. XI. 62.
70. IX. 274.

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The initial outlay on the construction of a canal is beyond the means of an individual, and hence it can be dug either by co-operative efforts, of which there is not much proof, or by the state. In contrast to the canal, a tank can cater to the needs of a smaller area and therefore presupposes co-operative efforts on the part of a village community or small political units only. Once canal water is made available bigger plots can be irrigated with less labour, but although tanks can be constructed by individuals one tank can be utilised for irrigating five to ten acres. On this showing we can suggest two features of the economic and political organisation under the Kushāṇas. The absence of irrigation by canals in the first two centuries of the Christian era implies that comparatively smaller plots of land had come to be the order of the day. Tank-or-well-irrigation may have been employed as an aid to the intensive cultivation of these plots. Again, the absence of canals or any large irrigation works in Northern India under the Kushāṇas might suggest that their empire was a loose conglomeration of local political units, lacking centralised political organisation, as we find it in the case of the Maurya empire.

The technical aspect of irrigation works is practically obscure. We have some idea about the materials which were used in the construction of tanks. Embankments seem to have been made of earthworks, although in the case of a tank at Dharmarājikā at Taxila walls were made of the rubble masonry, the whole coated with plaster, in order that water may not percolate into the land.[71] Generally the steps in the tanks were made of bricks, as in the case of a tank in Tamluk.[72] The canal at Kumrahar or the one in Kaliṅga does not give any indication of brick walls, but the canal at Besnagar was enclosed by brick walls, in which lime mortar, rivalling that of the Romans, was used.[73] The object of having such strong brick walls was to store water for permanent use.[74] But, in general, the embankments and enclosures of tanks and canals seem to have been made of earthworks. Although the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya enumerates several devices of raising water and irrigating fields, we have hardly any idea of such contrivances in post-Maurya times. The Nasik Buddhist cave inscription of the time of Mādharīputra Iśvarasena, an Ābhīra ruler, refers to *odyantarikas* who have been interpreted as a guild of the workers fabricating hydraulic engines.[75] Whether these engines had anything to do with raising water for irrigation cannot be definitely said, but the possibility cannot be ruled out.

71. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 247.
72. *Ind.Arch.*, 1954-55, p. 20.
73. *ASR*, 1914-15, p. 69.
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Lüder's List*, No. 1137.

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ŚAKA SĀTAKARṆI

Dr. M. Rama Rao

A ruler of this name, obviously of the Sātavāhana family, seems to have ruled over both parts of the Deccan for seven or eight years. His time and the area of his rule have been matters of dispute. An attempt is made in this paper to settle these points of dispute.

An inscription at Kanheri[1] records the gift of a cave in the 7th year of the reign of a Māḍharīputra Svāmi Śakasēna. The title *Rājño* preceeding the matronymic and the personal name indicates, beyond doubt, that this was a reigning king. Both the titles Śakasēna and the metronymic, Māḍharī putra, are peculiar and not borne by any other ruler of the Sātavāhana family. The title *Svāmi* was held by Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña. Twenty-four lead coins of the Lion and Chaitya variety, obtained from the Krishna and Godavary districts of coastal Āndhradēśa, contain a legend which has been read as Śakasēna or Śaka Sada.[2] Rapson has suggested that this Śakasēna or Śaka Sada may be identified with the Śakasēna of the Kanheri inscription mentioned above.[3] The Tarhala hoard of Sātavāhana coins contains four coins of a Śaka Sātakarṇi.[4] This Śaka Sātakarṇi may be identified with the Śaka Sada of the coins from Coastal Āndhradēśa, and with the Śakasēna of the Kanheri inscription.

Who was this Śaka Sātakarṇi ? It is certain that he ruled as an independent king. His name does not figure in the Puranic lists of the Āndhra kings. Obviously, he was a member of one of the collateral branches of the Sātavāhana family. Prof. Mirashi has suggested that he was one of the local rulers in Berar.[5] But the identification made above of the Śaka Sada or Sātakarṇi of the coins with Śakasēna of the inscription shows that he ruled not only in Berar but also over Konkan and northern Maharashtra and coastal Āndhradēśa. For this reason Prof. Mirashi's view is untenable. Dr. Gopala-

1. *Lüders List*, No. 1001.
2. *BMC*, pp. 10-12 and pt. III, 33, GP2, GP3, 36, 37 and 38.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
4. *JNSI*, vol. II, p. 92.
5. *Ibid.*

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chari has suggested that the king was probably a son of Śiva Śrī, the rival of Rudradāman.[6] This view is also untenable. Firstly, I have shown elsewhere[7] that it was Sātakarṇi IV and not Śiva Śrī that was the contemporary of the Śaka king, Rudradāman. The Purāṇas state clearly that Sivaskanda was the son of Śiva Śrī. Thirdly, had Śāka Sātakarṇi been a son of Śiva Śrī he should have found a place in the Puranic lists. It is therefore reasonable to consider Śaka Sātakarṇi a member of one of the collateral branches and not of the main line.

When did Śaka Sātakarṇi flourish ? Dr. Gopalachari compared the palæography of the inscription of this ruler with another of Śrī Yajña found in the same place and concluded that the two rulers flourished very near each other in point of time.[8] His being a member of a collateral branch and the existence of evidence of his rule over both sides of the Deccan indicate that he was a usurper. Puḷumāvi IV's description in the Purāṇas as *anya-steshāṁ*, meaning 'one of them but an outsider' is another instance of usurpation in Sātavāhana history. The succession from Śrī Yajña to Chanda Śrī, the last but one king, was unbroken. Śrī Yajña was the last king of the Puranic lists who ruled over both sides of the Deccan. His son and successor, Vijaya, is known only from a few coins in the Tarahala hoard.[9] The next ruler, Chanda Śrī or Chanda Sati, is known from an inscription[10] and a few coins from coastal Āndhradēśa.[11] Pulumāvi IV, the last ruler, is known from an inscription in the Bellary district[12] and some coins in the Tarhala hord.[13] Thus there is no room for the rule of Śaka Sātakarṇi over eastern Deccan after Śrī Yajña. Puḷumāvi was succeeded in 130 A.D. by his brother, Sātakarṇi IV, who twice defeated by the Śaka king, Rudradāman, lost western Deccan and confined his rule to the other parts of the Sātavāhana empire. The Ābhīra king, Iśvaradatta, founded his independent rule in Aparāṁta and northern Maharashtra in 170 A.D.[14] The reign of Sātakarṇi IV was full of troubles. He lost southern Maharashtra to the Kura chiefs. His two successors mentioned in the Puranic lists, Śiva Śrī and Śivaskanda, are known from coins in Berar and coastal Āndhradéśa.[15] Obviously, these two kings did not rule over western Deccan. Weaker rulers followed Rudradāman, the

6. *Early History of Āndhradeśa*, p. 69.
7. *JNSI*, vol. X, pt. I, p. 76.
8. *Early History of Āndhradeśa*, p. 69.
9. *JNSI*, vol. II, p. 90.
10. *EI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 316-319.
11. *BMC*, pt. V, nos. 117, 119 and GPC.
12. *EI*, vol. XIV, pp. 153-155.
13. *JNSI*, vol. II, p. 92.
14. See my *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Souvenir*, p. 16.
15. *JNSI*, vol. II, p. 89 and BMC, pt. V, nos. 115, 116.

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Śaka king. The years immediately following his death and preceding the establishment of Ābhīra rule in western Deccan are eminently suited for the reconquest of western Deccan by the Sātavāhanas.

It may, therefore, be reasonably presumed that Śaka Sātakarṇi, a scion of the Sātavāhana family, defeated the Śakas and occupied western Deccan, usurped central and eastern Deccan from the successors of Sātakarṇi IV and ruled over all these territories for seven or eight years. I would assign this Māḍharīputra Svāmi Śakasēna Sātakarṇi to the period A.D. 140-150.

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NEW FINDS OF THE KUSHĀṆA PERIOD FROM MATHURA

SHRI K. D. BAJPAI

Recently some archæological finds of unusual importance have been discovered at Mathura and acquired for the local Archæological Museum. These include two Brahmi inscritions of the Kushāṇa period, a set of twelve Buddhist sculptures and another set of three architectural pieces. They are briefly described here.

The first inscription is incised on the pedestal of a seated Buddha image (Mathura Museum no. 4329) which but for a portion of the right leg is completely broken. The extant portion of this statue measures 1′ 10″ by 11″. The inscription on the pedestal is in two lines, which could not be completely preserved on account of the breaking of the left portion. Fortunately the name of the king and his regnal year, mentioned in the beginning of the inscription, are preserved. The script is Brahmi and the language is the mixed prakrit dialect, usually found in the Kushāṇa Brahmi inscriptions of Mathura. I read the inscription as follows—

Line 1—महाराजस्य कति [ष्कस्य] स ४ व १ दि १ एतस्य पूर्व्वंये भिक्षु धर्म्मनित्यस्य धर्म्मरखिक [स्य] सद्धचेविहारिस्य भ.

Line 2—प्रतिष्ठापयति महादण्डनायक हुम्मियकचङ्य्यक्कविहारे प्रनेन देवधर्म्म-परित्यागेन मतापितृणां प्राया.

The inscription evidently refers to the donations made by some person (whose name is unfortunately broken) at the instance of two venerable monks Dharmanitya and Dharmarakshita in the Vihāra of mahādaṅḍanāyaka called Hummiyaka Chaṅyakka in the 4th regnal year of the Kushāṇa emperor Kanishka.[1] The date corresponds to year A.D. 82, when we assign the regnal year to the Śaka era of A.D. 78. The inscription refers to a new Buddhist vihāra in Mathura named after a mahādaṅḍanāyaka called हुम्मियकचङ्य्यक्क. Names of more than a dozen Buddhist monasteries in and around the old town of Mathura are already known. The present inscription adds a new name to the list.

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The second epigraph is inscribed on the pedestal of another seated Buddhist image (Mathura Museum no. 4328 ; length 1′ ; ht. 8″). This image also is badly damaged leaving only a portion of the left foot and the under-garment covering it. Here too the inscription is in two lines, but excepting a few letters the rest is broken. The script and the language are as usual. The inscription can be read as follows :—

Line 1—त्र—स्य सद्धेविहारि—
Line 2—बिहारे प्र.

The details including names of the donors and that of the monastery are gone. On palæographic grounds the inscription can be assigned to the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D.

The set of 12 sculptures comes from an old site near Sarai Azampur, a small village about 3 miles north-west of Mathura. These comprise 3 standing Bodhisattva statues (Museum nos. 4237,4238 and 4243, each measuring 3′ 2″ in height). One statue of standing *padmapani* Bodhisattva (no. 4244 ; ht. 1′6″), 5 miniature figures of seated Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (nos. 4240, 4241, 4246, 4247 and 4300) ; each measuring 1′ square, 2 crowns of Buddha (no. 4239 and 4245 ; each 1′ sq.) and one male figure riding on a winged lion (no. 4242 ; length 2′ 1½″, ht. 1′ 2″).

Almost all of these sculptures are in perfect state of preservation. They are made of the usual Mathura sandstone and can be assigned to about A.D. 200. The first three standing figures of Bodhisattva are almost similar. Each of them holds a lotus garland in the right and a flower basket in the left. Besides the usual scant clothes and ornaments we find a plain halo behind the head. On the top there is a tenon to fix the statues to some permanent structure. The pedestal of one of the three, *viz.*, no. 4238, bears three Brahmi letters *Vishṇuna.* The drapery on the smaller statue of *padmapani.* Bodhisattva is similar to the above bigger figures. Its pedestal bears the Brahmi letters *simhasya.* The 5 miniature figures show Buddha or Bodhisattva seated in *padmāsana* inside a niche, between two pilasters. Buddha is either ekaṅisika or ubhayaṁsika. He is usually shown in the abhayamudrā with the scallops halo behind. No. 4246 is the image of Maitreya who holds the flask of nectar in the left hand. No. 4241 bears on the pedestal the word *Vishṇu.*

To come to the two crown figures of Buddha, both show the crown placed between two small pilasters. Each bears the letters *simhasya.*

The last of the group is an architectural piece showing a lion-rider. He holds the reigns in his hands. He wears an ornamental turban,

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bound with fillet. The style indicates Persepolitan resemblance. This piece probably formed the upper part of a door-jamb.

The two words *Vishṇuna* and *Siṁhasya* either refer to the names of the sculptors or donors.

The third group of architectural pieces consists of two big upright pillars and one coping stone acquired from a site on the west of Mathura town, opposite the Chaurasi mounds. The first pillar is the biggest Buddhist architectural piece so far discovered in Mathura. It is 16 feet high and is carved on three sides. The front portion is tastefully decorated with a long palm leaf design, running throughout and embossed with dancing parrot figures. The other two adjacent sides are divided into eight panels each. The lowermost panel shows a princely figure standing in adoration. In his front stands a dwarfish male figure holding a basket of flowers on his head. The uppermost panel shows Buddha seated on a high pedestal. Two attendants are shown standing on each side of Buddha. The intervening panels bear a male and female figure in the posture of adoration. These couples are carved in the most graceful form and are very well preserved. The other side of the pillar shows similar carvings, but they are not in good state of preservation.

The second pillar, measuring 11′ 8″ in height, was broken in two, which have now been joined together. This pillar is also carved on three sides. The front, like the previous pillar, bears palm design. The two adjacent sides show pūrṇaghaṭa at the bottom. On one side an Aśoka creeper sprouts forth from the pūrṇaghaṭa, while a lotus creeper comes out on the other side. The top of the pillar is adorned with winged lion figures.

The third piece is a coping stone measuring 10 feet. On the front and back it contains Chaitya windows bearing the upper parts of the figures of amorous couples. The faces of the couples have remarkable expressions.

These three architectural pieces can be assigned to the 1st cent. A.D.

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SOME BRĀMANICAL CULTS IN CLASSICAL LITERATURE

SHRI J. N. BANERJEA

Some works of the classical authors contain useful information about the political and cultural history of ancient India. Many such data have been ably utilised by Indologists for the reconstruction of the ancient history of the country, mostly of a political character. But interesting statements made by them about the religious beliefs and practices of particular sections of the Indian people of bygone days have only occasionally received the necessary attention of scholars. If such statements and observations, usually of an implicit nature, are carefully studied and read between the lines, they can be made to yield valuable information about the religious history of ancient India. It will be shown in this paper how some passages from Megasthenes, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Ptolemy, the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and others throw much light on the prevalence of some major Brāhmaṇical cults in different parts of India.

Megasthenes makes a curious observation about the religion of the Indian philosophers. He says that the philosophers dwelling in the plains of India were mostly worshippers of Herakles, while those that were mountain-dwellers worshipped Dionysios. It has long been known to scholars that the Greeks had a peculiar propensity to identify the deities of the non-Greek people with whom they came in contact with the members of their own pantheon. It has generally been believed that the Indian Herakles and Dionysios of the Greek writers corresponded with Vāsudeva Krishṇa and Śiva, the central divinities of two of the major Brāhmaṇical cults, Vaishṇava (earlier name Bhāgavata) and Śaiva (Pāśupata). The statement quoted here brings to prominence some of the essential traits associated with the mythology about these two Indian deities. Śiva's association with the hills and mountains is well-known, some of his names such as Giritra ('living in mountains'), Girīśa ('Lord of the mountains'), etc., fully emphasising it. Vāsudeva Krishṇa, however, is mythologically connected with Mathurā and its environs situated in the heart of the Madhyadeśa plain. The foreign author, it is presumable to hold, has transferred in a way these characteristic traits of the respective deities to their worshippers. The intimate association of religion and philosophy in India from a

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very early time, and the contribution of her ancient metaphysicians and philosophers in the formulation and systematisation of the tenets associated with the different religious systems is well known. It is probable that the Greek author is indirectly alluding to this fact, when he puts the worshippers of Vāsudeva and Śiva in the category of philosophers. R. G. Bhandarkar drew our attention long ago to another statement of Megasthenes, which also contains an unmistakable evidence about the prevalence of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa worship in the Mathurā region. The Greek writer states that 'Herakles was specially worshipped by the Sourasenoi, an Indian nation, in whose land are two great cities, Methorā and Kleisoborā, and through it flows the river Jobāres'. Mehorā, Kleisoborā and Jobāres are undoubtedly the Greek forms of Mathurā, Kṛishṇapura and Yamunā respectively. Bhandarkar correctly identified the Sourasenoi of the text with the epic tribe of the Sāttvatas to which Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa belonged. The tribe was also known by the name of the Surasenas who, according to the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, dwelt in the Mathurā region, and this tribal name was evidently the basis of the Greek form. The Surasenas are rightly described by Megasthenes as exclusive worshippers of Vāsudeva.

Some statements made by Quintus Curtius Rufus, one of the annalists of Alexander's invasion, as supported by an observation of Ptolemy, may indicate the existence of the worship of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa far in the north,—in the plains of the northern Panjab during the time of Alexander and afterwards. Curtius writes about a peculiar custom of the soldiers of Porus in the battlefield in this manner: 'An image of Herakles was borne in front of the line of infantry, and this acted as the strongest of all incentives to make the soldiers fight well. To desert the bearers of this image was reckoned a disgraceful military offence, and they had even ordained death as a penalty for those who failed to bring it back from the battlefield.' Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa as the inspirer of the soldiers of Porus reminds one of the same hero-god inspiring the third Pāṇḍava Arjuna to fight with vigour on the battlefield of Kurukshetra when the latter was unwilling to fight and destroy his own kinsmen. There is little doubt that the Herakles of Curtius is Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa (not Śiva as suggested by Coomaraswamy), and it is presumable that the foreign writer Pompaeius (a companion of Alexander and the writer of the account of the Macedonian invasion, who was the authority of Curtius) knew something about the tradition during his sojourn in India from the local people. The *Bhagavadgītā*, as we have it now, might have been composed in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. But the epic tradition about the fight appears to have been current from a much earlier time. It is possible that a large section of the subjects of Porus from which the soldiers of the king were recruited were worshippers of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa whose effigie was carried by them on the battlefield. That the cult of Vāsudeva was well in vogue in the Jhelum

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region during the early centuries of the Christian era seems to be indicated by a passage in section 46, chapter I, of Ptolemy's *Geography*, in which reference is made to the country of the Pandoöuoi around the Bidaspes (Vitastā-Jhelum, Hydaspes of the other Greek writers). The notes on this passage by McCrindle and Majumdar Sastri are not quite to the point. It is very likely that the Pāṇḍavas (the original of the Pandoöuoi of Ptolemy) of this passage really indicate the worshippers of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, as they themselves really were.

The annalists of Alexander's invasion mention the tribe of Sibae (Siboi) who dwelt in the part of the Panjab near the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Akesines (Jhelum and Chandrabhāgā). Curtius, Diodorus and other classical writers describe the Sibae as dressed in the skins of wild beasts, having clubs for their weapons, and branding with the mark of a club their oxen and mules. This Panjab tribe, as described, may be regarded as worshippers of Śiva. Their existence in this region some centuries before the Christian era is proved by a passage of the *Mahābhāshya*. Patañjali, while commenting on the first and the third varttikas on Pāṇini's *sūtra*, IV.2.104 (*avyayātyap*) refers to the northern village (*idīchyagrāma*) Śivapura or Śaivapura. The *Mahāmāyūrī*, one of the five great mantra-formulas of northerrn Buddhism, composed much earlier than the fourth century A.D., refers to the tutelary deity Ślai, the principal object of worship in the province (ahara) of Śivapura. Sylvain Levi long ago connected this Śivapura with the Śivapura (another form Śaivapura) of the *Mahābhāshya*. The evidence of this Buddhist text further confirms that the Sibae or the Śibis (Lassen was the first to equate the Sibae of the classical authors with the Śibis of the epic and purāṇic literature) were principally the worshippers of Śiva.

Covert allusions of the worship of the Devī (Śakti) and Sūrya can also be found in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and the Geography of Ptolemy. The author of the former work, while referring to Comara (Kumārī of the indigenous texts and Comorin of modern times) the southernmost locality of India, says that it was sanctified by its association with a virgin goddess who once bathed here in the seas and lived. This is nothing but a garbled version of the Indian tradition about the sanctity of the Kumārikā Tīrtha current in India from a very ancient period. Some late Vedic texts contain the name Kanyā Kumārī (Virgin Daughter) used there as one of the several synonyms of Durgā, the great goddess of the Śāktas. Her worship as the virgin Goddess seems to have been well in vogue in different parts of India from early times, and the reference in the *Periplus* expressly shows that she was being worshipped in this aspect in the extreme southern part of the country in the second half of the first century A.D.

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Ptolemy mentions a town called Brahme in a part of southern India somewhere in the upper Kāverī region, which was the city of the Brachmanoi Magoi. J. Campbell suggested to McCrindle that the word 'Brachmanoi Magoi' meant 'sons of the Brāhmans', *i.e.*, the Kanarese Brāhmaṇas. But Lassen rightly pointed out long ago that the term 'Magoi' here implied 'either that they were a colony of Persian priests settled in India, or that they were Brāhmaṇs who had adopted the tenets of the Magi'. But he had no reason to express his surprise 'that Ptolemy should have been led into making such an unwarrantable supposition'. It can be justifiably suggested that the great geographer refers in this particular manner to a settlement of the worshippers of sun and fire, which perhaps owed its origin to the contact of India with the Persian Magi. The Purāṇas and some other Indian texts lay down that a particular form of sun cult was introduced into the country from Śakadvīpa (Eastern Iran), and it was the fire and sun worshipping Magi (priestly class of Persia) who took a prominent part in the introduction of this aspect of sun worship. There can be little doubt that Ptolemy refers to them and their converts in India as 'the Magoi Brachmanoi'.

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BUDDHIST ANTIQUITIES RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT PEDAGANJAM

Shri B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao

Pedaganjam

The village of Pedaganjam is in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur district. It is on the east coast, four miles south-west of Motupalli, one of the ancient ports of Āndhradēśa. There are a number of mounds and swamps around the village with names like Chakalivanidibba, Bhogamdanidibba and Kollitippa which have been yielding from time to time brick-built stupas, marble pillars, sculptures and images of Buddha. These finds point to the existence of an extensive Buddhist settlement in Pedaganjam.[1]

Faranguladinne

One of the mounds in the Pedaganjam area recently yielded some fine Buddhist sculptures and a Prakrit inscription of the third century A.D. The mound is called *Faranguladinne* or ' The mound of Foreigners '. The local tradition is that once there stood on the site a city of the French or ' Parasulapaṭṭanamu '. But Robert Sewell who surveyed the area noted the antiquity of the mound in the following words : " Tradition states that there used to be an European colony as far back as A.D. 1224, probably Genoese or Venetian."[2] It is interesting to note that the famous Venetian traveller Marco Polo landed at Motupalli—which he called *Motufil* about A.D. 1290. Motupalli is only eight miles to the south-east of Faranguladinne. Therefore the mound received the name Faranguladinne by virtue of its being the settlement of foreigners or the Venetians.

Previous Finds

Faranguladinne is at present 9 feet above the paddy-fields that surround it. The mound is strewn with ancient pottery pieces containing floral and other beautiful designs, large bricks, rough grey stone chiselled into approximate size and shape of bricks, concrete and

1. M. Rama Rao, *Buddhism in Andhradesa*, p. 33.
2. Robert Sewell, *Antiquities of Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 82.

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stucco. On close examination I found a piece of a terracotta female head, elegantly combed, and dressed and decorated with star-like flowers. Brick-foundations and other traces of occupation are found 5 feet below from the top of the mound. This part of Faranguladinne is locally known as Dīpaladinne (mound of lamps) and Lanjadibba (mount of prostitutes), names commonly given to the ancient Buddhist sites in Āndhradēśa. Robert Sewell noted that five marble slabs containing Buddhist sculptures were recovered from the mound and were sent to the Bezwada Library.[3] The antiquity and the Buddhist importance of the locality is further proved by the Chinna inscription dated in the 27th regnal year of Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī.[4] Chinna is identifical with the village of Chinnaganjam, three miles to the east of the Faranguladinne. The inscription begins with the adoration of Buddha and is supposed to record a grant to a Buddhist Tīrtha.

Recent Finds

Recent finds in the Faranguladinne include marble slabs, statues of Buddha and a marble pillar with a Prakrit inscription of the Ikshvāku period.

In all, four statues of Buddha were discovered. Two of them are damaged and are without heads. The statue which is in somewhat good condition is 4 foot in height and one foot and three inches in width near the chest. The hands and legs are broken, but the face and the head are intact. The other features of the statue admirably agree with the Buddha statue of Nagarjunakonda. "The torso shows the *Sanghati* in thick flowing lines, leaving the right arm and shoulder bare. The left hand raised up to the level of the shoulder holds the fringe of cloth."[5] Another statue of Buddha which is slightly bigger bears similar features. A round mark resembling the cast mark is prominent on the face. A detached head of Buddha with similar features might have belonged to one of the damaged statues.

One of the marble slabs, broken at the top, contains the sculptures of Buddha with halo seated on a throne against the Bodhi tree. He is in the preaching pose. Two worshippers sit at his feet with raised hands and in a supplicating mood. On either side of Buddha is standing in graceful pose a woman with a chauri in hand. Each of them is led by a dwarf, holding a basket on his head probably containing articles required for worship. Above the figure of Buddha is the frieze of garland-bearers—the festoon ornament which was the most favourite

3. *Ibid.*
4. *EI*, vol. I, pp. 95-96.
5. T. N. Ramachandran, *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 71.

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of the Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda sculptors.[6] At the top is a scene depicting the worship of the Bodhi tree. The slab might have decorated the face of an Ayaka platform of a Stupa. Another slab contains two *pūrṇakalaśas*, surmounting the *triratna* design in the usual Amaravati style. A few damaged slabs containing Buddhist sculptures are also found; but the sculptures cannot be identified.[7]

The Inscription

The most important find is an inscription on a marble pillar which might have been an Ayaka pillar. It is more probable that it belonged to a Mantapa or a hall of pillars. The pillar is broken in the middle, and as a result the inscription is lost from the 9th line. The inscription is in fully developed Ikshvāku characters with the characteristic loops and flourishes.

Date

The record belongs to the reign of Śrī Mathariputra Vīrapurishadatta. It is dated on the 12th day of the 4th Paksha of the Grīshma in the 19th regnal year of Śrī Vīrapurishadatta, who was the second king in the line of the Ikshvākus of Vijayapuri-Nagarjunakonda. His reign is placed in the second half of the third century A.D.[8]

Summary of the Inscription

The inscription begins with the adoration of Buddha. It appears to have been issued by a certain house-holder named *Sighila* who was a resident of *Dhamnakata*. He belonged to a family of traders (*Vanija*) and was a dancer. He visited the place in the company of his family and friends. The members of his family like his sister, brother's wife and daughters were mentioned. The names *Nagalinga*, *Buddhanika*, *Samudanika*, *Sagarnika*, *Verasiri*, *Nagasamanika* occur in the inscription. Unfortunately neither the donee nor the purpose of the grant is known.

Importance of the Inscription

Though fragmentary, the inscription is of great importance being the first record of the Ikshvākus to be discovered outside the Krishna valley. It establishes beyond doubt the extension of the Ikshvāku

6. Longhurst, *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 51, p. 25.

7. Most of the sculptures have been carried away by the inhabitants of Uppugundur, a village three miles to the west of the site.

8. The late B. V. K. Rao put the reign of Siri Vīrapurishadatta between A.D. 218 & 239. Cf. *Early Dynsties of Andhradesa*, p. 52. Dr. M. Rama Rao assigns the king to *c.* A.D. 232-252. Cf. *Journal of Andhra History and Culture*, vol. III, no. 1 Apl. 1946), p. 8.

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authority over the east coast as far south as Ongole.[9] Dhanakataka which had been the capital of the Śātavāhanas was also included in the empire of the Ikshvākus.

The record suggests the existence of a famous Buddhist Tīrtha near Pedaganjam or at the site of the Faranguladinne and that it attracted pious pilgrims from distant places like Dhanyakata. In this connection I venture to suggest that modern Pedanganjam mignt be identical with Pamnagama mentioned in one of the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions, dated in the 6th regnal year of Śrī Vīrapurishadatta.[10] The above record mentions that reverend Ānanda who completed the Mahāchaitya at Nagarjunakonda was a disciple of the Masters of the Āryasaṅgha who were the residents of Pamnagama. Therefore Pamnagama, the seat of the Āryasaṅgha, should be taken to be a great centre of Buddhism; and the previous and recent finds including the inscription prove that Pedaganjam had been a flourishing centre of Buddhism. The terms Pamnagama and Pedaganjam bear close resemblance. Further, the analogy of Chinaganjam, which is referred to in inscriptions as Chinna,[11] also supports the above identification. The Masters of the Āryasaṅgha of Pamnagama were preachers of the Dīgha and Majjhima nikāyas and the five Matukas.[12]

The inscription throws some light on the social and religious practices of the times. The caste system appears to have been fairly developed and the community of the Vaniyas showed special interest in Buddhism.[13] The practice of going on pilgrimage with family and friends was widely prevalent. The names like Sagarinika and Samudanika that occur in the inscription indicate the intimacy of the people with the sea. The port of Motupalli appears to have been in a flourishing condition in the Ikshvāku period and it might have been connected with Vijayapuri and Dhanyakataka by roads.

In short, the whole site of Faranguladinne appears to be a very potential one and it is unfortunate that it has so long been neglected. A veritable wonder house of Buddhist sculptures is awaiting the spade of the archæologist in Āndhradiśa.

9. So far almost all the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus are found at Nagarjunakonda, Gurajala, Ramireddipalli and Jaggayyapeta—all near the river Krishna.

10. *EI*, vol. XX, Nagarjunakonda Ins. No. B. 2.

11. *EI*, I, pp. 95-96.

12. *EI*., XX, Nagarjunakonda Ins. No. B. 2.

13. Longhurst, *Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, p. 6.

"The Buddhists were largely recruited from the commercial classes and it was their wealth which enabled not only the merchants themselves but also their royal masters, to raise monarstries of such magnificience as those at Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati."

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HISTORICITY OF RĀMAGUPTA

Dr. Upendra Thakur

Despite all archæological excavations and research work carried on hitherto, there are still certain periods in Ancient Indian History which defy any speculations whatsoever. While a few have been challenged, explored and to some extent brought to light, others remain still unconquered and unprobed. During the fourth century A.D. however, we have a lot of information, both literary and archæological, which forms a solid base for the construction of the history of this period. But for the epigraphic and numismatic evidence, the Gupta period, otherwise known as the Golden Age of Indian history, would have been quite different from what we have it today.

I

But this vast source of information, too, sometimes fails and the smooth running gets interrupted. Many a problem crops up. Historians get baffled and outwitted. Archæological sources prove meagre and any kind of speculations seem uncalled for. We have, in the circumstances, to refer to literatures concerned. But references to historical and political events in them are few and far between. Even when such things are mentioned, they are brought in by way of illustrations and referred to in the briefest possible allusions, which yield the reader a large field for conjecture. Occasionally welcome light is thrown on some obscure references by the more or less fuller versions of these events in the literature of the period. But here too, it cannot be said with certainty that the evidence derived from such sources is all flawless and convincing. The atmosphere in which these things functioned was all charged with flattery and hyperbole. The poets and writers in most cases were anything but honest and sincere, and particularly so when they chronicled and eulogised the life and deeds of their masters. They were mostly court-bards and danced to the tunes of their masters and camouflaged their misdeeds. Hence their fundamental approach is insincere and uncandid. Also in course of time numerous textual corruptions have crept in, very often facts being distorted by those interested to make them suit their own ends. But literary evidence, when corroborated by archæological finds, is none the less more realistic and reliable and greatly adds to our existing knowledge.

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II

Contemporary epigraphic evidence shows that Chandragupta II was the immediate successor of Samudragupta. But of late a theory has been advanced by Dr. A. S. Altekar,[1] on the basis of certain literary evidence, showing that there was an elder brother of Chandragupta II named Rāma (Śarma) Gupta who intervened between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. The literary evidence may be set forth here.

A dramaturgy called *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* by Rāmachandra Guṇachandra tells us that Rāmagupta was the son and successor of Samudragupta. This work contains the fragment of a long lost historical drama by the celebrated Viśākhadatta, the renowned author of *Mudrārākshasa*. From the fragments thus preserved we know that Chandragupta, while a prince, was preceded by Rāmagupta, who married Dhruvadevī or Dhruvaswāminī. This Dhruvadevī was later on married to Chandragupta II and became the mother of Kumāragupta I and prince Govindagupta. Coming to the extracts of a new historical drama *Devī Chandraguptam* in the *Śriṅgārarūpakam* by king Bhoja of Dhāra,[2] we know that Rāmagupta, having sustained a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Śakas, and then with a view to removing the apprehensions of his subjects consented to the demand made by the Śaka king that he should send his legally married wife Dhruvadevī to him.[3] In the following extract containing a long dialogue between him and his wife Dhruvadevī, Rāmagupta states, he is doing so for the sake of his subjects. The queen resents the action and complains of her husband's heartlessness and cowardice.[4] Later his younger brother Prince Chandragupta speaks of the cowardice of his brother; disguises himself as a woman and kills the Śaka king while he was expecting the Gupta queen in his camp.[5] Chandragupta then killed his brother and married his widow.

1. *JBORS*, vol. XIV, pp. 223-53, XV, pp. 134-41, XVIII, pp. 17-36; Cf. Sen, *HABI*, pp. 224-5; *IA*, 1923, p. 181; Banerji, *AIG*, pp. 26ff. *Malviya Commemoration Volume* (Bhandarkar's article) pp. 189 ff. *Aiyangar Commemoration Volume* (Winternitz's article) pp. 359 ff *JBORS*, vol. XXIII, p. 444; *IHQ*, vol. X, pp. 48ff. (Mirashi's article). S. K. Aiyangar. *Ancietn India*, p. 260; *PHAI*, 533, fn 2; *IA*, 1933, 201; *Vikrama Volume*, 1948, pp. 483-511 (H.C. Raychoudhuri's article).

2. *IA*, 1923, pp. 181-3.

3. We have the following extract—"यथा देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते द्वितीयेऽङ्के.....शकस्य ध्रुवदेवी संप्रदानेऽभ्युपगते राज्ञा रामगुप्तेन अधिवधनार्थं यियासु.....कुमारचन्द्रगुप्तो विहापयन्नुच्यते" (JBORS Vol. XIV. p. 226).

4. "पत्युः क्लीवजनोचित्तेन चरियेंनानेन पुंसः सतः
लज्जाओंवविषादमीत्थरतिभिः क्षेत्रीभृ ताम्यते।" (*Ibid. 227*)

5. "क्षमाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां ध्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन ध्रुवदेवीवेषधारिणा स्त्रीवेषजनपरिवृतेन व्यापादितः" (*Ibid.* 227).

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Based on this piece of literary evidence, Dr. Altekar's contentions[6] are :—

(*i*) That Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Rāmagupta and not by Chandragupta II ;

(*ii*) That this Rāmagupta was an utterly weak and incapable ruler, so much so that the contemporary Śaka king, very probably of western India, could compel him to agree to surrender his crowned queen Dhruvadevī to his harem ;

(*iii*) That Rāmagupta's younger brother Chandragupta saved the situation by killing the Śaka king whom he approached under the guise of Dhruvadevī ;

(*iv*) That after his triumphant return, Rāmagupta was killed either by Chandragupta himself or at his instigation ; and

(*v*) That Chandragupta married his dead brother's wife Dhruvadevī and made her his crowned queen.[7]

III

The earliest reference relating to it we have in a passage of *Harṣacharita* by Bāṇa stating that 'Chandragupta, in the guise of a female, killed the Śaka king, possessed of lust for another's wife at the very city of the enemy.'[8] 'Śaṅkara, the commentator of *Harṣacharita*, makes the reference more explicit by saying that the Śaka king was killed in private by Chandragupta disguised as Dhruvadevī and surrounded by men dressed as women, because the former wanted Dhruvadevī.'[9]

Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṅsā* cites a verse mentioning the surrender of Dhruvaswāminī by her husband king Śarmagupta (evidently the copyist's mistake for Rāmagupta) to an enemy who had besieged his dominion.[10]

6. *JBORS*, vol. XIV, pp. 223ff.

7. A host of scholars have since then come forward with their theories supporting partially or fully, the contention of Dr. Altekar. The different volumes of the Journals of the Numismatic Society of India and others abound in such articles published off and on. On close scrutiny, however, these articles present nothing new so as to throw a fresh light on the topic concerned and as such merit no detailed mention. Recently Dr. C. C. Dasgupta has also made an attempt to give a new interpretation of this important point contained in the *Devichandraguptam*. But he has made confusion worse confounded. (*Vide* Summaries of Papers, Agra Session of *IHC*, 1956).

8. R. K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, p. 66.

9. R. D. Banerji, *Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures*, p. 38.

10. Sen, *HAIB*, p. 225, foot note.

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The late Śrī Jayaśaṅkara Prasād in his famous historical drama *Dhruvaswāminī* (Hindi) also holds the same traditions followed in all ancient Sanskrit books, forming the base of this new theory.

M. Sylvain Levi, to whom goes the honour of publishing the information as to Rāmagupta for the first time in his masterly monograph entitled *Deux nouveax traites de dramaturgie Indienne*,[11] points out that these later historical dramas cannot be relied upon as trustworthy sources of history.[12] They are more a piece of drama than a fact of sober history. Let us take the example of *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*. The details of the story, most of which go against definitely known facts of Indian history, have been rightly condemned as 'suspicious and late' and particularly the passage relating to the Guptas is 'nothing but a forgery.'[13]

Commenting on the literary evidence, Dr. Raychaudhuri says, "The tradition that a Gupta king killed his brother and took his wife and crown dates only from the ninth century. The literary evidence on this point is discrepant and hardly conclusive. The version given by Bāṇa and his commentator differs in important aspects from the story of the Kāvyamīmāñsā. The simple story narrated in the *Harṣacharita*, was doubtless embellished by later poets and dramatists. The *Devīchandraguptam* and similar works are as much unsuited to form basis of the chronicles of Chandragupta II as the *Mudrārākshasa* and the *Aśokāvadāna* are in regard to the doings of the great Mauryas."[14]

IV

Epigraphic evidence supplementing literary tradition is none too exhaustive. It is as a matter of fact too meagre and referatory to arouse any sense of belief in the theory so based. In other words, the theory of Dr. Altekar, mentioned above, is unsupported by any contemporary epigraphic evidence.

Verse 48 of the Sanjan plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I, dated A.D., 871[15] states: "that donor in the Kāli age, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed his brother, we are told, seized (his) kingdom and queen. "The statement clearly shows that even in the ninth century A.D., more than two hundred years after Bāṇa, this story was well remembered. But the passage misses the main point concerning the assassination of the Śaka king by Chandragupta and also the

11. *JA*, Tome CCIII, 1923, pp. 193-218.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *JNSI*, vol. VI, pp. 34-36.
14. *PHAI*, p. 553, fn 2.
15. *EI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 248, 255.

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name of the fratricide, whom the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takesto be Skandagupta who may have been engaged in a battle with his brother Ghaṭotkacagupta.[16] But this argument of the learned Doctor is weak and unconvicing, keeping in view the details recorded in the literary books and the inscriptions as well.

Again, we have a similar story referred to in the Cambay and Sang plates (A.D. 930 and 933 respectively) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV.[17] These records mention the murder of his elder brother by a king named Sahasāṅka and his marrying his brother's wife. Some of the scholars are inclined to take this king to be Chandragupta II on the ground of the latter's assumption on his coins of the title Vikramāditya.[18]

Rājaśekhara also mentions a king of this name as a patron of learning.[19] We have a similar Arabic tale mentioned in the Karamdande inscription of A.D. 436[20] with only the names Rāma, Chandragupta and Sikharasvāmina, (his) prime-minister, having been replaced by Raawal, Barkamaris and the Safar respectively. As shown by Prof. V. V. Mirashi,[21] details not found in the earlier accounts, the simple story narrated by the Sanskrit authors, continued to be added in the days of Amoghavarsha I and Govinda IV. This is something like heresay handed down from generation to generation.

V

Other sources having failed, numismatic evidence is always the last to rely upon. But here too, we only meet with disappointment. No coins of Rāmagupta have been discovered.[22] Dr. Altekar who is responsible for tracing the existence of this now so-called famous king had to admit that the Bayana hoard (our last hope?) contained not a single coin of that ruler.[23] This circumstance, in his own words, seemed to go against the historicity of Rāmagupta. But we cannot help appreciating his patience when he in the same breath declared: 'It is possible to argue even now that since about 200 to 300 coins of the present hoard were melted down before it was discovered, it is not impossible that all the coins of Rāmagupta, which by the way

16. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
17. R. K. Mookerji, *op.cit.*, p. 67.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, *JBORS*, vol. XIV, pp. 223 ff.
20. *ED*, vol. I, pp. 110-11.
21. *IHQ*, vol. X, pp. 48ff.
22. Cf. Dr. Altekar's Presidential Address (*vide JNSI*, 1948).
23. *Ibid.*

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could not have been many as he had a short reign, may have been in the lot melted down.....My faith in the historicity of the plot of the *Devīchandraguptam* is, however, not shaken by the absence of the coins of Rāmagupta in the present ohard.'[24] This sounds something strange and looks more a pedantic jugglery of words than a learned historians' dissertation. And, it is all the more strange that while all other coins have remained, only those of Rāmagupta's should have fallen victim to a cruel fate. It seems as if nature too were conspiring against Dr Altekar's hypothesis.

Further like a drowning man catching at a straw, he clung on to the view that 'Kācagupta of the coins is identical with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition.'[25] Here we have to bear in mind that Dr. Altekar once refuted Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the evidence contained in the Sañjana plates,[26] but now we find him reverting to the same 'discredited' theory. It was somewhat a desperate fight for an already lost cause.

Bhandarkar interprets the problem of Rāmagupta in the following way. He is of opinion that the king who intervened between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II was Kāca of the coins and it was a copyist's mistake that was responsible for the preservation of his name in later literature, as Rāma or Rāmagupta. Rāmagupta of the literary tradition is, therefore, the same as Kācagupta of the coins.[27] Even if such accounts have some historical basis, it is hard to believe that a king who apparently, on account of his military exploits, was known as *Sarvarājocchettā* (exterminator of all kings) would readily agree to the ignominious term of sending his own wife to enemy's camp to save his skin,[28] as these scholars would have us believe. The original and popular name of Samudragupta may be conjectured to be Kāca, and it appears to be less objectionable than others in the present state of our knowledge of Gupta epigraphy and numismatics.[29] Thus Dr. Altekar's contention that 'epigraphical lists are usually genealogical, not dynastic, and they very often omit collateral rulers '[30] is not at all convincing.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.* He now appears to have given up his view, as according to him, 'after the discovery of the copper coins of one Rāmagupta in Malwa, the most plausible view is to suggest that Kācagupta was probably an elder brother of Samudragupta.....' (For details, see *Bayana Hoard*, Introduction, pp. LXXIV-VI, Paras 142-46, CXX, Para 237, CXVI, Paras 230-31).

26. *JBORS*, vol. XIV, pp. 237-38, 242-43.

27. *Malviya Volume*, pp. 204-5.

28. *JNSI*, vol. V, pp. 33-34, 149-50.

29. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, 35; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 268 ff, 492 ff.

30. *JBORS*, vol. XIV, p. 244; *Bayana Hoard*, Intr., p. XXIV.

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VI

Dr. Altekar says that Chandragupta II's marrying his brother's widow may be unbelievable, but it was an 'historical fact.' This idea may 'appear to us now very strange but the same was not the case with our forefathers.'[31] He treads the same old beaten track once again when he repeated the same argument in his monumental work, *Catalogue of the Gupta Coins in the Bayana Hoard* in the following words: 'the marriage with an elder brother's widow was permitted by the *Dharmaśāstra* writers, and Chandragupta's conduct in marrying Dhruva devī, though now appearing strange to us, would not have excited much comment in contemporary times.'[32] And in favour of his contention, he cites the version of *Atharvaveda*,[33] *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, *Vaśishṭha Arthaśāstra*, *Nārada* and others.[34] We should, however, remember that the India of the Atharvavedic period was quite different from the India of the Gupta period when such marriages were regarded as taboo. Moreover 'the marriage of his brother's widow by the rebel and the regicide clashes with our cherished notions about morality and social customs prevalent in those times.'[35]

VII

We had thought that the episode was now a closed chapter with the find of the Bayana Hoard, as even our last hope—the numismatic sources—deny the historicity of this king, and that these problems can now be solved only when further evidence is available. But in a recent article Dr. Altekar has reiterated his previous stand.[36] Herein again he has introduced no fresh historical evidence except his reference to *Majmatu-t-Tawarikh* by a Muslim historian of the 12th century A.D.[37] It has been suggested that the king and his retinue were besieged in a hill-fort and his army having been defeated by the Śaka king, he was at the complete mercy of the latter. Again at another place he has repeated the same argument in the following words: 'The whole incident, with many more suggestive details, is narrated in the *Majmut-t-Tawarikh* as the story of Rawal and Barkamaris.[38] The story discloses the additional fact that Dhruvadevī had been betrothed to Chandragupta but was married to his elder brother against her wish.'[39] But even such a situation can hardly condone the utter infamy and disgrace in-

31. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
32. *Bayana Hoard. Intr.*, p. XXIV.
33. IX. 5.228.
34. *JBORS*, vol. XIV, p. 247.
35. Mazumdar-Altekar, *NHIP* (First Edn.), p. 163.
36. Cf. His article, "Forgotten Romances of Indian History" in *SPARK* of 18th March 1951 Patna.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *JBORS*, vol. XV, p. 138.
39. *ED*, vol. I, pp. 110-11/39; Cf. *Bayana Hoard*, Intr., p. XXIII, para 43.

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volved in the proposed means of escape from it. It should be remembered that we cannot explain it away merely 'as a caprice of a monarch who might be imbecile and insane,' for we are asked to believe that this action had the full approval of the people, even if it was not instigated by them. The code of honour in the golden age of India must be assumed to have been very different from 'the later and more degenerate days when in similar peril women, preferring death to dishonour, are known to have thrown themselves in blazing fire, and men rushed out and fought till they avenged the insult with the last drop of their blood.'[40]

Even Dr. Altekar appears himself reluctant to accept his own theory, as in his own words it is difficult to believe that 'the fortunes of the great Gupta Empire should have sunk so low within a decade of the death of Samudragupta as to compel his successor to agree to the surrender of his crowned queen....One is loath to believe that Chandragupta, the idol of the nation for a long time, should have murdered his own brother and married his widow .....It is inexplicable why we should have so far found no gold coins of Rāmagupta, if he was a historic personage.'[41]

But the recent discovery of the copper coins of one Rāmagupta at Besnagar[42] has tremendously encouraged the exponent of this theory to boldly assert that 'coins tend to support the historicity of the literary episode.'[43] Several tiny coins were discovered at Besnagar in Malwa in 1951. The coins bore the name of Rāmagupta on the obverse and couchant lion on the reverse. It is said that the legend on the coins, when pieced together, reads as Rāmagupta in the Gupta script.[44]

Scholars believe that Rāmagupta of these coins (4th cent. A.D.) may have been a local ruler of Malwa.[45] Dr. Altekar, however, asserts that these coins may have been issued by Rāmagupta on his accession to the throne 'as the coinage in ancient India was local and it is quite likely that a need for small copper currency, similar to the Nāga coinage current earlier, may have been soon felt by the Gupta administration.'[46] He further contends that 'it may be that even Samudragupta might have started this currency and its specimen may be discovered if a careful search for them is made in Malwa.'[47] We have had enough of 'ifs' and 'buts,' 'may be' and 'likely' in the field of historical research in India, and therefore, leaving aside these historical predictions

40. *NHIP*, vol. VI, p. 164.
41. *Bayana Hoard*, Intr., pp. XXIII-XXIV, para 50.
42. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 103, XIII, p. 128.
43. *Bayana Hoard*, pp. XXIV-V, para 52.
44. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 103, XIII, p. 128 ; *Bayana Hoard*, p. XXX, Para 237.
45. *The Classical Age*-17-8, *NHIP*, Chapter VII; Sec. I.
46. *Bayana Hoard*, pp. XXIV-V.
47. *Ibid.*

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which may now sound absurd so far as this argument for argument's sake is concerned, we have to remember that these tiny coins of the type issued by Rāmagupta were not current in Bihar or U.P. or any other part of the Imperial Guptas. We also know that before the discovery of the so-called copper of Ramagupta, Chandragupta II and his successor Kumāragupta were the only Gupta Emperors who are said to have issued a copper currency.[48] To the credit of these emperors, however, there are several types of gold coins, as in the case of other Gupta kings.

The most striking fact in this connection is that the copper currency of Rāmagupta is not of the usual type as issued by Chandragupta II, and is a mere imitation of the earlier Nāga coinage. Thus taking into full consideration the local character of this currency it is but natural to conclude that it was a local coinage issued to meet the local demands by a local ruler of the territory. That ' Samudragupta had already occupied the territory up to Eran, within 40 miles of Besnagar'[49] is no proof that the newly discovered copper coins are those of Rāmagupta of the Imperial Gupta line. It is a hypothesis, pure and simple, which sounds utterly fallacious and unconvincing in the logic of history. It is indeed all the more strange to find that Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and their successors, in spite of their numerous types of gold currency, did not care to issue such currency in that area, and it fell to the lot of Rāmagupta alone to take the initiative in the matter. Moreover we know that Malwa, along with the tribal states of the Punjab, western India and Central Provinces was not completely vanquished and annexed to the Gupta Empire by Samudragupta, for they are said to have gratified his imperious command (*pracaṇḍa śāsana*) 'by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying orders and coming to perform obeisance.'[50] Thus we find that it was not directly administered by the Guptas. On the other hand, it was ruled by a local ruler who paid tribute and homage to the crown. The argument that Rāmagupta of these coins may have been a local ruler of Malwa is, therefore, much nearer the truth and more convincing than the one advanced by Dr. Altekar.[51]

48. For Chandragupta II—See *BMCGD*, Pls.X-XI, CGD.Pl.XVI and for Kumaragupta, BMCGD, Pl.XVIII, CGD, Pl.XVIII, *Bayana Hoard*, pp. CXVIII-CXX, paras 236-37.

49. *Bayana Hoard*, p. XXV.

50. *PHAI*, p. 543.

51. Dr. J. N. Banerjea observes—"After appraising all the available data in question he has admitted the paucity of convincing evidence about the historicity of Rāmagupta episode, but yet he is inclined to accept its probability. The recent discovery of some copper coins with the partially legible name of Rāmagupta on them does not seem to have any direct bearing on the problem, for their issuer was most probably a petty ruler of some locality in central India. His arguments in support of their attribution to the Rāmagupta of the story are not convincing.....The author appears to have been in two minds about the problem and his tentative assignment of the reign of Rāmagupta to a period between *c.* A.D. 370-75 is at least conjectural in character." *Vide* his Paper on "Gupta gold coins in the Bayana Hoard" in *JBRS*, vol. XLI, p. 215. Cf. Prof. R. K. Choudhary'spaper *The Gupta gold of the Bayana Hoard, SPARK* of 10/4/1955, Patna.

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It is thus apparent that the so-called Rāmagupta was the only unfortunate Gupta king who had issued no gold coins, no inscriptions to mark any notable event of his reign. But we are asked to believe that, in spite of the paucity of archæological evidence, a few copper coins, alleged to have been issued by him, are sufficient to lend him the dignity and halo of the glorious Imperial Guptas and rank him with them as such—an assumption which would have been rejected forthwith by the same scholar had it not been the dear creation of his own imagination.

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THE GUPTA KINGS AND THE SPREAD OF VAISHNAVISM IN GREATER INDIA

SHRI SHYAM CHAND MUKHERJEE

Though most of the Gupta emperors professed the Bhāgavata form of Vaishṇavism, nothing can be said very definitely about the religion professed by Samudragupta. They adopted Garuḍa as the distinguishing emblem of their standard. The Garuḍa emblem on the coins of Samudragupta suggests that this king was also a Vaishṇava. The Allahabad pillar inscription refers to the Garuḍa Seal (Garutmadaṅka) of Samudragupta and represents him actually as the god Vishṇu in human form. The epithet 'lokadhāmno davasya' no doubt refers to the conception of a divine being. (*Cf.* Manu Saṁhitā, VII. 4-8). But important is another passage of the same record in which Samudragupta is represented as identical with the "Achintya Puruṣa" (Inscrutable or Incomprehensible Being *i.e.*, Vishṇu) who is the cause of the prosperity of the pious and destruction of the wicked. Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that this is an echo of Śloka No. 8 of Ch. IV of the Bhagavadgītā.[1] It may be mentioned in this connection that the king was a man of soft heart, full of compassion for those who deserved it by their humility, and regard for him, for the lowly, the poor, the destitute and the afflicted, for the relief of whom he constantly worried himself. (*Cf.* 11. 25 and 26—Allahabad Pillar ins.—*Select Inss.*, vol. I, p. 254).

The expressions mentioned in the Allahabad inscription, *e.g.*, Achintya Purusha etc., had their origin in the Nāsik inscription of Puḷumāvi of circa A.D. 149 (regnal year 19)[2] line 8 (aparimitemakhayamachitamabhuta etc.). We have tried to show in a separate article which is going to be published in a well-known journal that Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the Śātavāhana king was probably a Vaishṇava by faith.

It has been suggested by Dr. Sircar that though Samudragupta was a Vaishṇava, he was apparently not a Bhāgavata. This is indicated by the fact that his successors apply the epithet 'Parama Bhāgavata' only to themselves and not to that king. Although in some cases the

1. *Cultural Heritage*, vol. IV, p. 131.
2. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 196.

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word Bhāgavata implies Vishṇu worshipper in general (Bṛhatsaṁhitā, LX. 19) it was sometimes also used in the sense of a particular sect of the Vaishṇavas. (*Ibid.*, p. 131).

That Samudragupta was a devout Vaishṇava is clear from the study of some of the coins issued by him. Reference may be given here to the standard type of coin issued by this king where an altar is shown. According to Dr. R. K. Mookerji, it may also be taken in the sense of a ' tulasīvṛndāvana ' —a completely Indian feature (p. 1, *Gupta Empire*). It may be mentioned in this connection that in most of the reverse side of the coins the goddess Lakshmī is shown. In the Lyrist type of coins issued by this king the goddess of music—Sarasvatī is shown (reverse side). This has also been suggested by the abovementioned scholar (*ibid.*, p. 34). All these things no doubt show that Samudragupta was a devout Vaishṇava king. In the colophon of a poetical work called the ' Kṛshṇacharitam ' it is said that the work was composed by Śrī Vikramāṅka Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhāgavata Śrī Samudragupta (Cf. *IC*, vol. X). Though the ascription of the work to Samudragupta has been doubted by Jagan Nath (An. Dh. Or. Res. Soc., vol., 26. p. 133 ff) something may be said in support of this work. Recently a coin of Samudragupta has been found in the Bāmnalā hoard, Nimar district with the legend ' Śrī Vikramaḥ ' on the reverse side. (*JNSI*, vol. V, pt. 2, p. 143). This may indicate the correctness of the title ascribed to the king by the author.

That Samudragupa was a Vaishṇava or rather a 'Paramabhāgavata' is clearly given in the spurious Nālandā and Gayā inscriptions (said to be issued by this king in the 5th and 9th years respectively). (Cf. *Select Inss.*, pp. 262 and 264).

As regards the successors of Samudragupta it may be mentioned that his son Chandragupta II was a devout worshipper of god Vāsudeva -Vishṇu. He is called ' Parama Bhāgavata ' in his coins, as also in the inscriptions of his son Kumāragupta I and grandson Skandagupta. On the reverse side of some of his coin-types the figure of Garuḍa with its outspread wings has been shown. Now, this king was a true Vaishṇava, for in one specimen of coin issued by him (*i.e.*, the " Chakravikrama " type found in the Bāyānā hoard of the Gupta coins) show god Vishṇu.

So, we see that these two kings were the devotees of Lord Vishṇu. It may be expected that these two monarchs who had diplomatic relations with some foreign powers and had some control over the islands in the neighbouring seas really worked for the propagation of the religion professed by them. And it was during their reign-periods that Vaishṇavism travelled to the islands overseas.

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From a study of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription we come to know that the foreign powers which established some diplomatic connections with Samudragupta were the "Daivaputra-Shāhi Shāhānushāhi" and the "Śaka-Muruṇḍas" as well as the people of Siṁhala and all other dwellers in islands (11, 23 and 24). Now, the inclusion of all islands in addition to Siṁhala is very interesting. It no doubt refers to the Hindu colonies in the Malaya Peninsula, Java, Sumatra and other islands in the Indian Archipelago. The occurrence of the epithet 'Dhanada—Varuṇendrāntakasama" in the same inscription (L. 26)[3] leads Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri to observe that some control over the islands in the neighbouring seas is possibly hinted at in it (P.H. A.C. 5th edn. p. 547 n. 1). An emphasis may be laid on the word, Varuṇa, who is known to the Hindus as the Sea-god from time immemorial. It may point to his suzerainty over the seas.

From a study of the travel-accounts of Fa-hian it is clear that the principal port of the empire on the east coast was Tāmralipti (or modern Tamluk in West Bengal) from which ships used to sail for Ceylon, Java (where Brāhmaṇism was flourishing, while the faith of the Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition) and China.

It may be pointed out here that some of the inscriptions discovered in the Trans-Gangetic peninsula and the Malaya Archipelago testify to the maritime activities and military adventures of the Indian people in the Gupta age. Special reference should be made here to the fragmentary stone inscription of the 5th century A.D. of a Mahāṇāvika Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamṛttikā or Rāṅgāmāṭī (modern) in West Bengal. It was discovered in the Malaya Peninsula. (*Select Inss.*, p. 465).

Influences of the Gupta kings to the overseas islands no doubt laid the foundation of Greater India consisting of the islands of the Indian Archipelago like Java, to which the name Indonesia is applied.

There is evidence to show that with the spread of Indian culture outside the limits of India, Vaishṇasvism along with other forms of Brāhmaṇical religion also spread abroad from the early centuries of the Christian era.

The Chinese dynastic chronicles notice the existence of an Indianized kingdom in Cambodia or ancient Kambujadeśa or Chinese Fu-nan from the 1st century A.D. They mention the two Kauṇḍinyas (Houentien) as the pioneers of Indian cultural and political influence.

3. *N.B.*—The attention of the scholars may be invited to l. 1 of the Nānāghāṭ ins. *viz.*, Yama—Varuna—Kuber—Vāsavānam of queen Nāganikā (2nd half of 1st century B.C.) *Select inscriptions*, p. 187.

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Kauṇḍinya as a 'gotra' name of the Brāhmaṇas was well-known in India. The 'gotra' of Vishṇugupta was Kauṇḍinya. There are also inscriptional references to it (Cf. Fleet, *Gupta Inss.*, nos. 41 and 56). The next important king mentioned by the Chroniclers is Chandana or Chandra (according to Dr. Bagchi). It is the Sanskrit transcription of the Chinese form Chan 'tan. It may be observed in this connection that the royal titles of the Kushāṇas with which Fu-nan is thought to have established contact in the middle of the 3rd century A.D. This king may have been a scion of that house *i.e.*, the Kushāṇa dynasty who fled to Fu-nan as a result of the conquest of North India by Samudragupta (*c.* A.D. 335-375) towards the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century A.D. (According to Dr. Bagchi, however, in the middle of the 5th century A.D.). A new batch of colonists under the leadership of another Kauṇḍinya (who was a Brāhmaṇa by caste) were sent from India to Fu-nan. The new dynasty established by him ruled the country up to the end of the 6th century A.D. The kings of this dynasty were responsible for the spread of the Brāhmaṇical religions in this country. The Sanskrit Inscriptions which are earlier than the 5th century A.D. show that Kambujadeśa or Fu-nan has become an Indianised state under a Hindu ruler. The Brāhmins seemed to have become well-organised from at least the 5th century A.D. They were apparently re-inforced by immigrants coming from the 5th century onwards.

As regards the Brāhmanical religions we see that Śaivism has become the state religion in the 5th century A.D. The cult of Vishṇu, however, does not seem to have begun before the 5th century A.D. It is said that Vishṇu never attained in Java a position of importance equal to that of his rival 'Śiva', though under some dynasties he enjoyed a position of very high honour and rank.

Not only in the domain of religion but in the case of art and sculpture also the influence of the Indians over the people of South-East Asia or the Indian Archipelago is quite visible. An intensive study of the Cambodian art and sculpture will reveal the fact that the primitive art of Kambujadeśa (*i.e.*, Cambodia) is derived from Gupta art. (R. C. Majumdar, *Kambujadeśa*, p. 43). The influence of Pallava art over the latter is also noticeable.

Mention may be made here of three inscriptions discovered from Fu-nan which throw welcome light on the spread of Vaishṇavism in the Indian Archipelago. The first *i.e.*, the Ci-aruton rock inscription of king Pūrṇavarman of the 5th century A.D. (Kern, V. G. VII. p. 5) represents the king as a deified being and places him on an equal footing with Vishṇu. It reminds us of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta where the king is likened to Vishṇu (*supra*). The second *i.e.*, the

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Proasat Pram Loven Inscription (R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambhoja*, p. 2) of Guṇavarman of the 6th century A.D. records the erection of a temple of god Chakratīrthasvāmin (a form of Vishṇu) which was consecrated by the Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas, Upavedas and Vedāṅgas. The third one is unimportant for our purpose. The first two inscriptions definitely prove that Vaishṇavism was introduced in Indian Archipelago (in Fu) in the 5th century A.D. In as much as Vaishṇavism did not flourish in the said territory before the 5th C.A.D. it may be observed that Vaishṇavism travelled there during the reigns of Samudragupta (*c.* A.D. 335-375) and Chandragupta II (A.D. 376-414)—the great protagonists of Vaishṇavism. However, nothing can be said very assertively in favour of our view.

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THE CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MĀṬHARAS OF KALIṄGA

SHRI SATYANARAYAN RAJAGURU

After Khāravela of the 1st century B.C. the history of Kaliṅga is wrapped in abscurity, for about five hundred years. In the Allahabad inscription of Mahārāja Samudragupta it is noticed that he defeated some petty kings in the Deccan during the middle of the 4th century A.D. Kaliṅga was not mentioned in that record, although places like Mahendra-giri, Kottura, Eraṇḍapalli, Pishṭapura, Devarāshtra, Pālakka etc., which were found as parts of Kaliṅga, had been ascribed as independent principalities whose kings were defeated by the Gupta emperor.[1] As a matter of fact there was no over-lord in Kaliṅga in about A.D. 350, or else his name would have been recorded in the Allahabad *Praśasti*.

For the first time in the history of Kaliṅga we meet the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati* in the Vrihatproshtha plates of Umāvarman.[2] That grant was made in the 30th regnal year of the kiṇg. Prior to that Umāvarman issued two more charters, *viz.*, the Dhavalapeta grant[3] and the Tekkali plates.[4] The latter was granted in the 9th regnal year. These two charters of Umāvarman did not use any title for the king except the usual *Mahārāja*. Similarly we find no title of another king of the Māṭhara family named Viśākhavarman from his Koroshonda grant.[5] It suggests that the early kings of the Māṭhara dynasty lived in Kaliṅga as petty chiefs up to the time of Umāvarman who acquired the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati* in or a little before his 30th regnal year or towards the end of his reign. And this must have occurred after the expedition of Samudragupta as referred to above. So the 30th regnal year of Umāvarman may be assigned to about A.D. 360. It is also supported by palæographical evidence.

1. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, vol. III, p. 13.
2. *EI*, vol. XII, pp. 4-6 ff.
3. *EI*, vol. XXVI, p. 132-35 ff.
4. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, p. 298-302 ff.
5. *JBRS*, vol. XIV, p. 282 ; *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 23 ff.

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Viśākhavarman granted his charter from a place named Śrīpura which has been identified with the modern village of Baṭiā-Śiripura of the Parlakimedi Taluk in Ganjam, because the plates were discovered āt Koroshonda which is situated within a mile of that village. The two early charters of Umāvarman, who came next to Viśākhavarman, were issued from different places named Varddhamānapura and Sunagara. But his third grant, where the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati* was introduced, was granted from Siṁhapura which happened to be the main capital town of the Māṭharas in Kaliṅga. Since the Dhavalapeta grant mentioned 'Mahendra-Bhoga' (district) which was situated at the foot of the Mahendra mountain in Ganjam, we may infer that Umāvarman extended his kingdom from the remote Baṭiā-Śiripura or Śrīpura near the Ganjam-Agency up to the Mahendra-hill on the sea-coast; and later on he captured the area as far as the river Lāṅguliā where the town Siṁhapura was situated. Dr. Hultzsch identified this town with the modern village of Siṅgupuram, between Srikakolam and Narasannapeta in the Srikakolam district.[6]

The Vrihatproshtha plates of Umāvarman was written by *Deśākshapatala* Mātṛvara, son of Haridatta. The same writer appeared in the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman in the 14th regnal year.[7] There he was designated as *Deśākshapaṭala* and *Daṇḍanāyaka*. It shows that he was promoted from the office of *Deśākshapaṭala* to that of *Deśākshapaṭala-Daṇḍanāyaka* during the 14th regnal year of *Kaliṅgādhipati* Anantaśaktivarman. This king issued another charter from Siṁhapura in his 28th regnal year.[8] There Mātṛvara was no more in the office of *Deśākshapaṭala*, but one Arjunadatta who was holding the office of *Talavara* was designated as *Deśākshapaṭala* and appeared as the writer. Evidently Mātṛvara left the office of *Deśākshapaṭala* some time between the 14th and 28th regnal years of Anantaśaktivarman, and the work of the royal scribe was bestowed on Arjunadatta who was also designated as *Talvara* or a noble of the Royal court. In the Prākrit inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa we come across the title of *Mahā Talavara*.[9] According to a Sanskrit commentary by Vinayavijaya of the *Kalpasūtra*, it is known that 'a *Rājashtānīya*' who was presented with a silk turban by the king, fully satisfied with his work, was designated as *Talavara*. Arjunadatta was formerly a *Talavara* and subsequently acted as *Deśākshapaṭala* in addition to his own duty.

The same Arjunadatta appeared again as the writer of Ragolu plates, issued in the 13th regnal year of Śaktivarman, the *Kaliṅgādhi-*

6. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 23-25.
7. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 275-79 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 226 (The Sakunaka grant).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 226 ff.

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pati.[10] There he was designated as *Amātya*, instead of *Talavara and Deśākshapaṭala.* It is, therefore, apparent that his official status was elevated up to the rank of an *Amātya* in or before the 13th regnal year of Śaktivarman.

In the Bobbili plates of Chaṇḍavarman of the 4th regnal year[11] we find that Mātṛvara's son Rudradatta was in the office of the Royal-scribe. There he used the title of *Deśākshapaṭala* like his father. When the system of hierarchy was in vogue, what obstructed Rudradatta from not having been present in the office of his father as *Deśākshapaṭala* during the 28th regnal year of Anantaśaktivarman and 13th regnal year of Śaktivraman? And what made Arjunadatta appear as *Deśākshapaṭala* or the Royal-scribe in the above two charters? These questions suggest that Mātṛvara was not living during the 28th regnal year of Anantaśaktivarman and that his (Mātṛvara's) son, Rudradatta, was a mere baby when his father died, so that Arjunadatta was deputed to act as *Deśākshapaṭala* until Rudradatta was found fit to assume the office of his father; and that arrangement continued at least for thirteen years or more. On this point we can say that the duration between the Sakuṇaka grant of Anantaśaktivarman and Rogolu plates of Śaktivarman of the 13th regnal year must not exceed 15-20 years, if not less. Rudradatta's name was mentioned only in one charter *i.e.*, the Bobbili plates of Chaṇḍavarman of the 4th regnal year. Chaṇḍavarman's Komarti plates, which recorded the 6th regnal year, did not mention any name of officers. And afterwards it appears that the practice of recording the names of writers in the Māṭhara grants was gievn up. So we have no opportunity to consider the chronology of the Māṭhara kings with the help of the officers mentioned in their grants after Chaṇḍavarman, after whom we are in possession of only four grants of the family.

There are two plates of Anantavarman who used the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati* like Umāvarman, Anantaśaktivarman, Śaktivarman and Chaṇḍavarman of the same family. The Siripuram plates of Anantavarman[12] and the Srungavarapukota plates of the same king[13] mentioned three generations, namely: (1) Guṇavarman, (2) his son Prabhañjanavarma and (3) his son Anantavarman. It is further stated that they belonged to Vāśishṭha-Kula[13a]; and the grant was made from Devapura. This charter recorded a date in a peculiar style as '*Mahāśvayuje-saṁvatsare-Māgha-māsa-Paurṇamāsyām.....*' This year denotes

10. *EI*, vol. XII, pp. 1-3 ff.
11. *EI*, vol. XXVII, pp. 33-36 ff.
12. *EI*, vol. XXIV, p. 47 ff.
13. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, p. 56 ff.

13a The Māṭharas in some plates mentioned as *Veśishsīputra* and *Maṭharakula*(Dr. Hultzseh wrongllly read *Māgadha-kula*) EI, vol. XII, pp. 1-3.

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the prevalence of the 12-year cycle of the *Vārhaspatya-Māna* which was never used in the Deccan. The Parivrājaka kings of central India, however, used the name of *Mahāśvayuja-Saṁvatsara* in their grants.[14] Anyway we do not derive any advantage by this rendering in tracing the exact time of Anantavarman, but this much we can say that the old system of 12-cycle of the *Vārhaspatya-Māna* was revised by Garga and afterwards to some extent by Vārāhamihira. Cunningham writes that " Bhaṭṭotpala quotes Garga to the effect that 170 solar years being equal to 175 Jovian years, the two names of ' Aśvayuja ' and ' Chaitra ' must be omitted."[15] So, it is clear that after Garga the *Aśvayuja-Saṁvatsara* was not added to the 12-year cycle of the *Vārhaspatya-Māna*. Since we get from the abovementioned inscriptions of the Parivrājaka kings the Gupta era, ranging from 163 to 209 (A.D. 483-529), we may attribute the plates of Anantavarman to the second half of the 6th century A.D. when the *Aśvayuja-Saṁvatsara* was not deleted from the reckoning of years, according to the said *Vārhaspatya-Māṇa*.

Anantavarman issued his two grants from Devapura and Sārapalli. The former may be the same as Devarāshṭra in the Allahabad *Praśasti*. According to the Srungavarapukota grant Anantavarman's grand father, Guṇavarman, lived in Devarāshṭra. It may be identified with the present Zamindary of Devādi in the Srikakolam district. Near it there is another Zamindary named Pālakoṇḍā which may also be identified with Pālakka of the Gupta *Praśasti*. From the above inscriptions we suspect that Siṁhapura lost her importance for a short period, *i.e.*, from the time of Chaṇḍavarman up to that of Prabhañjanavarman of the Niṅgoṇḍi plates who granted his charter from Siṁhapura.[16] In this grant we also find three generations of donors, *viz.*, (1) Saṅkaravarman, (2) his son Śaktivarman and (3) his son Prabhañjanavarman who is styled *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati*. Another king of the same family called Naṇḍaprabhañjanavarman used the same title in his Chicacole plates.[17] This glorious title seems to have been introduced by these kings towards the latter part of their rule in Kaliṅga.

If the Māṭharas are to be assumed to have attained supremacy in Kaliṅga immediately after the expedition of Samudragupta and if only ten kings ruled after Umāvarman, as shown in the Table enclosed at the end of this paper, then it is plausible that they ruled for about 150 years and up to (360 + 150 =) A.D. 510, when we allot 15 years to each king.

14. *CII*, vol. III, p. 102 ; *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 126.
15. Cunningham, *The Indian eras*, pp. 26-30.
16. *EI*, vol. XII, pp. 112 ff.
17. *IA*, vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff.

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During the close of the 6th century A.D. a king named Prithivī Mahārāja, son of Vikramendra and grandson of Raṇadurjaya, whose family has not yet been known, captured Pishṭapura on the banks of the Godāvarī, probably after defeating the Māṭharas. There he granted his Tandivada charter in the 46th regnal year.[18] From a recently discovered copper plate inscription of the same king we know that in the 49th regnal year he issued his 2nd charter while he was halting in a military-camp, pitched near the city of Virañjā.[19] So, his strategy in Sakala-Kaliṅga took place between the 46th and 49th regnal years, whereafter he seems to have suffered a defeat for his megalomania.

Towards the last part of the reign of the Māṭharas, as I have already suggested, they substituted the glorious title of *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati* in the place of *Kaliṅgādhipati*. It indicates that Kaliṅga was smaller in size than Sakala-Kaliṅga. We find a faint ray of light in the Niṅgoṇḍi grant of Prabhañjanavarman where the donor relates the achievements of his father Śaktivarman who was the ruler of a kingdom, lying between the rivers Krishṇaveṇī and Mahānadī (' Krishṇaveṇṇā Mahānadyāntarasthā prajā dharmmeṇānuśāsinaḥ '). As his son Prabhañjanavarman used the title of *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati*, the extent of Sakala-Kaliṅga was probably between the Krishṇā and the Mahānadī. Prithivī Mahāraja, who must have defeated the Māṭhara before he acquired Pishṭapura, proceeded from the banks of the Godāvarī as far as the Vaitaraṇī near Jaipur which was the old town of Virañjā.

The same town has been mentioned in the Soro plates of *Pratihāra-Mahārāja* Bhānudatta[20] as the royal resident. It was also recorded in the Ganjam grant of Gaṅga king, Jayavarmadeva, who granted a village in Koṅgoda after obtaining due permission from Mahārāja Unmattakeśarī of Virajā.[21] Since Bhānudatta and Unmattakeśarī ruled the country between the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. from the northern parts of the district of Ganjam, it is quite evident that that town was no other than the modern ' Virajā-Kshetra ' or Jajpur of the Cuttack district, situated on the banks of the Vaitaraṇī. The holiness of this river has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[22], while the sanctity of Virajā-

18. *EI*, vol. XXIII, pp. 88-99 ff.

19. This copper plate grant of Prithivī Mahāraja was discovered recently at Parlakimedi and secured by Shri S. C. De, Curator of Archives, Orissa State Archives, Bhubanesvara. It will be duly edited by Shri De. In the lines 1 and 2 of the first plate the grant begins with the following :—

"Svasti Śrī Vijayaskandāvārāt Virañjānagarādhivāsakāt....."

20. *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 199 ff.

21. *IHQ*, vol. XII, p. 492.

22. *Aranyaka-Parvan*, Ch. 114, Vv. 4-5.

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Kshetra and her presiding deity Virajā-Devī have been ascribed in the *Brahmapurāṇa*[23] and the *Kapila-Saṁhitā*.[24]

Prithivī Mahārāja of Pishṭapura seems to have been crushed by some kings of another powerful dynasty who generally used the suffix of 'Vigraha' in their names. In the Sumandala plates of Dharmarāja of the Gupta era 250 (A.D. 570) it is noticed that Dharmmarāja's over-lord Prithivī-Vigraha was styled the lord of Kaliṅga.[25] So, Prithivī Mahārāja must have been defeated during the middle of the 6th century A.D. whereafter his successors lived for a short time in Pishṭapura until they received a death-blow from the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, according to the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II.[26]

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23. *The Brahmapurana*, Ch. 42, Vv. 1.
24. *The Kapila-Samhita*, Ch. 7, Vv. 2.
25. *OHRJ*, vol. I, pp. 66-67, *EI*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85 ff.
26. *EI*, VI, p. 1 ff.

The Chronological Table of the Maṭharas of Kaliṅga

Number of kings and No.		Name and title of king	Saṁvat and date	Officers with designations	Probable date	Place of issue
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
I	(1)	Viśākhavarman	Saṁvat 7, Hemaṃ 7, 20th day.	Ājñābhogika Boḍhudeva	A.D. 320	Śrīpura
II	(2)	Umāvarman	Saṁvat 9, Māgha, Kri. 7th *tithi*	Keśavadeva of Pishṭapura	A.D. 340	Vardhamānapura.
	(3)	Do	?	?	?	Sunagara
	(4)	Do *Kaliṅgādhipati*	Saṁvat 30, Mārgaśira, Di. 20	Haridatta's son Mātṛvara, *Deśākshapaṭala.*	A.D. 361	Siṁhapura
III	(5)	Anantaśaktivarman *Kaliṅgādhipati*	Saṁvatsara 14, Śrāvaṇa, Śukla 5th *tithi*	Mātṛvara, *Deśākshapaṭala* and *Daṇḍanāyaka.*	A.D. 376	Vijayapura.
	(6)	Do	Saṁvatsara 28, Phālguna, Śukla, 10th *tithi.*	*Deśākshapaṭata and Talavara* Arjunadatta	A.D. 390	Siṁhapura.
IV	(7)	Śaktivarman, *Kalingadhipati*	Saṁvatsara 13, Vaiśākha, Paurṇamī	*Amātya* Arjunadatta	A.D. 405	Pishṭapura.
V	(8)	Chandavarman *Kaliṅgādhipati*	Saṁvatsara 4, Grīshma 2, Di. 5.	Mātṛvara's son Rudradatta, *Deśākshapaṭala*	A.D. 410	Siṁhapura.
	(9)	Do. Do				
VI		Guṇavarman	Saṁvatsara 6, Chaitra,	?	A.D. 412	Do
VII		Prabhañjanavarman	Śukla 5th *tithi.*			
VIII	(10)	Anantavarman *Kaliṅgādhipati*	*Mahāśvayuja-Saṃvatsara* Māgha Paurṇamī.	?	A.D. 450	Devapura.
	(11)	Do Do	? 13th *tithi*, Uttarāyaṇa	?	A.D. 460	Pishṭapura.
IX	(12)	Nandaprabhañjanavarman *Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati*	?	?	A.D. 470	Sārapalli
X		Śaṅkaravarman				
XI		Śaktivarman				
XII		Prabhañjanavarman,				
	(13)	*Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati* ?	Kārtika, Śukla, 12th *tithi.*		A.D. 510	Siṁhapura.

Authorities :— (1) *J.B. and O.R.S.* vol. XIV, p. 282 ; *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 23 (2) *EI*, vol. XVIII, p. 298 (3) *EI*, vol. XXVI, 132 (4) *EI*, vol. XII, p. 4. (5) *EI*, XXVIII, p. 275 (6) *Ibid.*, p. 226 (7) *EI*, XII, p. 1 (8) *EI* XXVII, p. 33 (9) *EI*, vol. IV, p. 142 (10) *EI*, vol. XXIV, p. 47 (11) *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 56 (12) *I.A.*, vol. XIII, p. 48 (13) *E.I.* Vol. XXX p. 112.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF MALWA

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA V. V. MIRASHI

In a recent number of the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XXX, Part IV) Dr. D. C. Sircar has edited two interesting inscriptions of a king named Gauri. The first of these was found at Chhoti Sadri near Neemuch station on the Ajmer-Khandwa railway line. It is dated in the year 547, which, in view of its palæography, must be referred to the Vikrama era. Its object is to record the construction of a temple of the Devi by king Gauri of the Mānavāyani family. It gives the following genealogy of the king :—

Puṇyasoma
|
Rājyavardhana
|
Rāshṭra (called Rāshṭravardhana in the second inscription)
|
Yaśogupta
|
Mahārāja Gauri

The second inscription which is fragmentary and undated was found at Mandasor (ancient Daśapura). Its object is to record that *Mahārāja* Gauri excavated a tank in the suburb of Daśapura for the religious merit of his deceased mother. It gives the following genealogy of king Gauri :—

Rāshṭravardhana
|
Yaśogupta
|
Mahārāja Gauri

This inscription mentions the name of a king named Ādityavardhana immediately after the initial *maṅgala-śloka* in praise of Vishṇu. He is said to have defeated his enemies and done something to a town whose name contained the word *daśa* (probably Daśapura). As the name of Ādityavardhana is used in the locative case, the intended meaning seems to be that he was ruling at the time. Who this Ādi-

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tyavardhana was and what relation he bore to king Gauri are matters of conjecture. Dr. Sircar mentions three possibilities : (*i*) As this inscription is of king Gauri, who was ruling in V. 547, it falls in the period of Hūṇa occupation of Malwa (c. A.D. 484-532). If Ādiyavardhana was the suzerain of king Gauri, he may be identical with the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa or Mihirakula ; (*ii*) Ādityavardhana may be a second name of king Gauri himself. As a result of the establishment of Hūṇa supremacy in Malwa, the Aulikaras were ousted from Daśapura and the Mānavāyanis were established there ; (*iii*) Ādityavardhana belonged to the Aulikara family and ruled at Daśapura, king Gauri being his relative or feudatory. Dr. Sircar rejects the first view, but he is unable to decide which of the other two is correct, though it appears that he is inclined to accept the second.

The inscriptions do not state where the capital of king Gauri and his ancestors was situated. Dr. Sircar seems to think that Daśapura was the capital of Ādityavardhana and that king Gauri excavated the tank there, as his mother had died at the capital of his overlord. There is no basis for this conjecture. King Gauri may himself have been ruling from Daśapura and his mother may have died at her son's capital. Verse 2, which is fragmentary, gives no clear indication on this point.[1] In making the above supposition, Dr. Sircar was perhaps guided by the usually accepted view that Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana was ruling from Daśapura where he has erected his victory pillars. But of this also we have no indication in any inscription. The occurrence of royal names ending in *vardhana* in both the Aulikara and Mānavāyani families has made the matter complicated. I shall, however, adduce some fresh evidence to show that the Aulikaras were, in later times, ruling not from Daśapura but from Ujjayinī and that Ādityavardhana probably belonged to that very family.

In this connection I wish to draw the attention of scholars to the following passage in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (adhyāya LXXXVI, verses 1-4)—

यच्छक्रशुक्रवागीशकपिष्ठलगरुत्मताम् ।
मतेभ्यः प्राह ऋषभो भागुरेर्वलस्य च ॥१॥
भारद्वाजमतं दृष्ट्वा यच्च श्रीद्रव्यवर्धनः ।
आवन्तिकः प्राह नृपो महाराजाधिराजकः ॥२॥
सप्तर्षीणां मतं यच्च संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च यत् ।
यानि चोक्तानि गर्गाद्यैर्यात्राकारैश्च भूरिभिः ॥३॥
तानि दृष्ट्वा चकारेमं सर्वशाकुनसङ्ग्रहम् ।
वराहमिहिरः प्रीत्या शिष्याणां ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ॥४॥

1. The name Daśapura appears in a fragmentary form. The metre appears defective.

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In this passage Varāhamihira tells us that he has written the chapter on *śakunas* (omens) after considering the views of several previous writers on the subject such as Śakra, Śukra, Bṛihaspati etc. Curiously enough there is among these one Dravyavardhana of Avanti, who is described as *Mahārājādhirāja*. We are further told that this Dravyavardhana had written a work on *Śakunas* after considering the views of a previous writer named Bhāradvāja. The mention of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana of Avanti as a writer on *śakunas* has puzzled many scholars. In a learned article on Varāhamihira and Utpala,[2] Dr. P. V. Kane says: 'It would be very useful if antiquarians can find out this king Dravyavardhana of Ujjayinī. To me it is a new kingly name. Whether there is any connection of this king with the family to which Emperor Harshavardhana belonged is more than I can say.' I shall try to shed some light on this problem.

The information given by Varāhamihira is of great historical importance. It is not based on hearsay. He was himself a resident of Ujjayinī[3] and had actually read the work of Dravyavardhana. Further, we have definite information about the age in which Varāhamihira lived. His *Pañchasiddhāntika* was probably composed in Śaka 427 (A.D. 505)[4]. Dravyavardhana, whom he mentions as his predecessor, must have been ruling from Avanti some time before the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

The name of Dravyavardhana recalls another name ending in *Vardhana* famous in Indian history, *viz.*, that of Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana, who defeated the Hūṇa king Mihirakula and erected two pillars of victory at Mandasor.[5] We have thus three names ending in *vardhana* of the kings who flourished in this period, *viz.*,

Ādityavardhana (contemporary of king Gauri whose known
| date is V. 547)
Dravyavardhana (flourished before V.561)
|
Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana (known date V. 589).

The first and the last of these kings were in some way or other connected with Daśapura (Mandasor). Let us therefore take a brief résumé of the history of this town from the fifth century A.D.

2. *JBBRAS*, vols. XXIV-XXV, pp. 1 f.

3. Cf. *Bṛihajjātaka*, Upasaṁhārādhyaya, v. 9—आदित्यदासतनयस्तदवाप्तबोधः कापित्थके सवितृलब्धवरप्रसादः। आवन्तिको मुनिमतान्यवलोक्य सम्यग्घोरां वराहमिहिरो रुचिरां चकार ॥९॥

4. He has taken Ś. 427 as the initial year for calculation.

5. *CII*, vol. III, Nos. 33 and 34.

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From several inscriptions discovered at Mandasor or in the neighbouring country, we get the following genealogy of the Aulikara kings who ruled at Daśapura :—

Jayavarman
|
Siṁhavarman
|
Naravarman (known dates V. 461 and V. 474)
|
Viśvavarman (known date V. 480).
|
Bandhuvarman (known date V. 493).

We have no definite information about the successors of Bandhuvarman. The Mandasor inscription[6] dated V. 529 tells us that within thirty-six years (V. 493 to V. 529) at least three kings ruled at Daśapura. This indicates the state of turmoil that overtook that part of the country. The last of these princes was Prabhākara, whose inscription dated only five years before, *i.e.*, in V. 524 (A.D. 467-68) has recently been published.[7] He probably belonged to the same Aulikara family, though it is not stated so explicitly. Prabhākara is said to have fought with the enemies of the Guptas. Who these were is not known. Just about this time Skandagupta died and there was a dispute about succession to the Gupta throne. The Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena who flourished in this period claims the king of Mālava among his feudatories.[8] So it is not unlikely that some rulers of Malwa, taking advantage of the debacle in the Gupta kindom, sided with the Vākāṭakas, but ultimately Prabhākara seems to have defeated them and established Gupta supremacy in Malwa.

Till now we had no records from Daśapura for the period following V. 529 until the rise of Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana, of whose reign we have the Mandasor inscription dated V. 589. The inscriptions now published by Dr. Sircar throw some welcome light on this period. The fragmentary Mandasor inscription, whose date is now lost, shows that the town was included within the dominion of king Gauri of the Mānavāyani family. Ādityavardhana, whose name is mentioned in the beginning of the record was evidently his suzerain. We have some records of other dynasties also which mention the name of the reigning

6. *CII*,, vol. III, No. 18 lines 19 and 20. Cf. बहुना समतीतेन कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः । ब्यशीर्यतैकदेशोऽस्य भवनस्य ततोऽधुना ॥

7. *EI*, vol. XXVII, pp. 145 f.

8. *EI*, vol. IX, p. 271.

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king's suzerain in a similar manner.[9] Ādityavardhana is not likely to have been another name of king Gauri himself, since there is no mention of it in the other inscription of his reign discovered at Sadadi. Like Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana, Ādityavardhana also probably belonged to the Aulikara family.

If Ādityavardhana's feudatory, king Gauri of the Mānavāyani family, was holding Daśapura and the adjoining territory, Ādityavardhana himself must have been ruling from some other place. The inscriptions give us no information on this point, but the aforecited passage from the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* which mentions *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana of Avanti suggests that like him, Ādityavardhana also may have been ruling from Ujjayinī. In that case, far from being ousted from Daśapura by the Hūṇas, Ādityavardhana or his immediate ancestor may have conquered considerable territory to the south of Daśapura and then shifted his capital to Ujjayinī. Thereafter, he seems to have established at Daśapura the Mānavāyani feudatory family, whose records have been found not only at Daśapura but also as far north as Sadadi near Neemuch.

Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana, who ruled from Avanti or Ujjayinī, also flourished in this very period. He cannot be referred to an earlier age ; for from the first to the fourth century A.D. Ujjayinī was the capital of the Western Kshtrapas. Thereafter, it came under the Guptas and was probably their capital for the western and central provinces of the Gupta Empire. *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana could not, therefore, have been in occupation of Ujjayinī till the death of Skandagupta which occurred in c. A.D. 467. Some time thereafter, Ādityavardhana appears to have marched on and occupied Ujjayinī when the Gupta Empire was tottering owing to the revolt of the feudatories. As the known date of his feudatory Gauri is V. 547 (A.D. 490-91), Ādityavardhana may be referred to the period, c. V. 532-552 (A.D. 475-495). He was evidently the successor of Prabhākara mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of V. 524. The next known Aulikara king is Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana, who was ruling in V. 589. *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana of Avanti mentioned by Varāhamihira (c. first half of the sixth century A.D.) must therefore be placed in the period V. 552 to V. 589. He may have ruled from c. V. 552 to V. 572 (A.D. 495-515). He was thus a predecessor of Yaśodharman and may have been his father.

The aforecited passage from the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* thus suggests that the latter Aulikara kings Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Vishṇuvardhana (Yaśodharman) ruled from Ujjayinī. This is also

9. See e.g. Verse 2 in the Surat plates of *Yuvarāja* Śryāśrayaśīlāditya, *CII*, vol. IV. p. 134.

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corroborated by the Mandasor inscription of V. 589. It tells us that the country between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra (Aravali) mountains was being governed by one Nirdosha, who was *Rājasthānīya* appointed by Yaśodharman and had his headquarters at Daśapura.[10] This clearly indicates that Yaśodharman himself was ruling not from Daśapura but from some other place like Ujjayinī.

How is it then, it may be asked, that Yaśodharman's Victory pillars are found at Daśapura ? It is not difficult to answer this question. The pillars commemorate the memorable victory which Yaśodharman obtained over the Hūṇa king Mihirakula. The battle appears to have been fought at Daśapura, about 75 miles north by west of Ujjayinī. Hence the memorable pillars were erected at Daśapura, the site of the battle, and not at Ujjayinī, the capital of Yaśodharman.

The foregoing discussion will have shown that Yaśodharman was not an upstart. His predecessors Ādityavardhana and Dravyavardhana had assumed imperial titles and made the Aulikara family famous as stated in the Mandasor inscription.[11] Further, all these kings were ruling from Ujjayinī.

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10. *Ibid.*, p. 154. The name of the Viceroy was Nirdosha, not Daksha as shown by Kielhorn.

11. Cf. प्रख्यात ओलिकरलाञ्छन आत्मवंशो येनोदितोहितपदं गमितो गरीयः ॥ *CII*, vol. III, p. 153.

TWO EARLIEST GANGA KINGS OF KALINGA

DR. N. K. SAHU

I. *Indra Varma—Year 39.*

King Indravarman who bears the epithet 'Trikaliñgādhipati' is the earliest historical king of the Eastern Gañga family. His copper plate grant, discovered at Jirjiñgi[1] near Tekkali in the Gañjām district, was issued on the 21st day of Vaiśākha in the year 39.[2] The king is described as गंगामलकुल गगनतल सहस्ररश्मी 'the sun to the sky of the spotless Gañga family' and as 'the victor in several battles of chaturdanta (four tusked) elephants.' That the king could acquire a large kingdom and lorded over a host of vassal chiefs is known from the passage : बीमलबीकोशनिस्त्रिंशधारासमाक्रान्तसकलसामन्तनृपतिमण्डलाधिपतिमकुटनिहितरुचिरपद्मरागप्रभाप्रसेतपरिष्वंगपिंगांगीकृतचरणयुगल:—'whose pair of feet were made resplendent by the brilliant rays of rubies placed on the diadems of the entire circle of vassal kings, who had been conquered by the sharp edge of his unsheathed and flashing sword.' His epithet Trikaliñgādhipati indicates that he had the sway over the hilly tracts lying to the west of Kaliñga and separating it from the territory of Kosala.[3]

Evidently Indravarman I was a very powerful ruler and his identification with the glorious Indrādhirāja of the Godāvarī grant[4] of Rājā Prithivīmūla, does not seem to be wide of the mark. The Godāvarī grant declares : शृताचिजनबृत्तसंपत्प्रभाभासुरोदारपुरुषरत्ननिकरप्रसूतिहेतुप्रख्यातमणल्कुठिबास्तव्यदिवजात्यन्वथपायोधिसंभूतशितरश्मेरसकृदबाप्तचतुर्दन्तसंग्रामबिजयस्य मितबर्मण: प्रियतनयेन सरभसमिन्द्रभट्टारके समुत्पादनाभिलाषसमुदितप्रमुदिताशेषनृपतिकृततुमुलसमाराधिरतसुप्ततीकानेकपाभिमुखसमदकुमुद दिवरदनिपातनाधिगतमुबततलबिततशुद्धयशस्य श्रीमार्दन्द्राधिराजेन 'Be it known to you! By one, to

1. It was discovered by Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., B.A., B.L., M.L.C., and was edited by Sri R. Subba Rao, M.A.,L.T., in *JAHRS*, vol. III, pp. 49-53.

2. Shri S. N. Rajguru thinks that the plate is dated in the year 139 *JKHRS*, vol. II, No. 4 and III Nos. 1, 2 and 3, p. 197. But the reading of the numerical figure is clearly 'Sam 30 (9)' *i.e.*, 39.

3. For Tri Kaliñga, *vide* the learned articles of Shri G. Ramdas in *JAHRS*, vol. I, pp. 16-23 ; and *JBROS*, vol. XV, pp. 635-42.

4. *JBBRAS*, vol. XVI, pp. 116-19.

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whom the request has been preferred in order that his parents may acquire religious merit, by the glorious Adhirāja Indra, who acquired great and pure fame, spread abroad over the surface of the earth, by overthrowing the infuriated elephant Kumuda that came against the elephant Supratika which was mounted by him in the tumultuos combat waged by all the kings who were gladdened by having assembled together in the desire to uproot by force Indrabhaṭṭāraka; (and) who is the dear son of Mitavarman, who was the moon that arose from the ocean of the twice born family that inhabited the famous town of Manālkuḍi, the cause of the protection of a multitude of noble jewels of men resplendent with famous ancestors and good conduct and prosperity and splendour (and) who more than once acquired victory in the contests of elephants that have four tusks.....'[5] This Indrādhiraja, as suggested by Fleet who edited the inscription, was almost certainly a Gañga king of Kaliñga. For 'the figurative expression that the Adhirāja Indra mounted upon the elephant Supratika of the north-east quarter, overthrew the elephant Kumuda of the south-east or southern quarter shows that the kingdom of Adhirāja Indra was to the north-east of Veñgi.[6]' Fleet, however, identified king Indrabhaṭṭāraka with the Eastern Chālukya king of that name, the younger brother of Jayasiṁha I and suggested the identification of Adhirāja Indra with Indravarman dated 128 and 146 (*i.e.*, Indravarman III) he being the only Gañga king of that name then known to scholars. Later on, while editing the Parlakimidi plates of Indravarman II dated 91, Fleet thought that Adhirāja Indra of the Godāvarī grant, might well be identified with Indravarman of that grant[7], and the same opinion was also held by Shri R. Subba Rao[8] while he edited the Cheedivalasa plates of king Devendravarman. After the discovery of the Jirjiñgi copper plate,[9] another Indravarman (Indravarman I) dated in the year 39, was known to the world of scholars. This Indravarman being a Trikaliñgādhipati, and he being credited with the victory in several battles of the four tusked elephants, his identification with Indrādhirāja of the Godāvarī grant of Prithvīmūla is now generally accepted. The noticeable fact is that the Jirjiñgi grant of Indravarman, the Godāvarī grant of Prithvimūla and the Rāmatīrtham grant of the Vishṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka, all refer to the battles of the Chaturdanta (four tusked) elephants. Evidently, king Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Godāvarī grant is identified with the Vishṇukuṇḍin king as indicated by J. Dubreuil[10] and not with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name as suggested by Fleet. But Dubreuil's view that the Vishṇukuṇḍin king was victori-

5. Translated by B. V. Krishna Rao, *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 493.
6. *JBBRRAS*, vol. XVI, pp. 116-19.
7. *IA*, vol. XVI, p. 134.
8. *JAHRS*, vol. II, Part 2, p. 159.
9. *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 49-53.
10. G. Jeuveau Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 91.

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ous in the battle cannot be accepted and in the light of the Godāvarī grant which explicitly refers to the crushing defeat of Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Fleet's opinion about the victory of the Eastern Gaṅga monarch is undoubtedly based on fact.

As to Indravarman I another problem has come up with the discovery of a fragmentary charter at the bottom of an old well in the village Triliṅgi in the Tekkali Taluk of Vizagapatam district. It consists of a single plate, the last of a set, and the editor of it, Shri S. N. Rajguru, reads the date portion of it as 'प्रवर्धमान राज्यसंवत्सर अष्टाबिसति', meaning 'the year 28 of the prosperous era.' Mr. Subba Rao accepts both the reading and interpretation of Mr. Rajguru and further adds that 'Since we have discovered the C. P. grant of Gaṅga Indravarmā dated in the year 39 of the same era, it follows that the Donor of the Trilliṅgi plate might be his immediate predecessor and probably his father.'[11] Working under this supposition Mr. Rao makes Mitavarman, the father of Indrādhirāja of the Godāvarī grant, as the first king and the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty in Kaliṅga and as the initiator of the Gaṅga era. But Mitavarman is neither referred to as king nor is given any kingly titles in the Godāvarī grant, and the Jirijiṅgi grant does not mention at all the name of the father of Indravarman I. We have, therefore, reason to ignore Mitavarman and to declare Indravarman I of the Jirjiṅgi grant (year 39) as the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty in Kaliṅga.

The Triliṅgi plate has been dismissed by Mr. G. Ramdas as spurious,[12] but Mr. J. C. Ghosh who does not question its genuineness reads the date portion as अष्टासीति, *i.e.*, year 88[13]. One important point goes to solve the chronological problem arising out of this plate. The scribe of the plate Vinaya Chandra, son of Bhānu Chandra, is known to us as the engraver of at least five sets of copper plates, *viz.*, Narasiṅgapalli[14] and Urlāṁ[15] plates of Hastīvarman, surnamed Rājasiṁha (also Raṇabhīta), dated respectively in the year 79 and 80; Achyutapuraṁ,[16] Santabommāli[17] and Pārlakimidi[18] plates of Indra Varman II, surnamed Rājasiṁha, dated respectively in the year 87, 87 and 91; while the son of

11. R. Subba Rao, *The History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*, p. 97.
12. *JAHRS*, vol. III, pp. 82-83.
13. *JBORS*, vol. XX, p. 44.
14. *EI*, vol., XXIII, p. 62.
15. *EI*, vol. XVII, pp. 332 33.
16. *EI*, vol. III, p. 128.
17. *JAHRS*, vol. IV, pp. 21-24.
18. *IA*, vol. XVI, p. 134.

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Vinaya Chandra engraved the Chicacole plates[19] of Indravarman III dated 128th year of the same era. Now if the Triliñgi plate is dated in the year 28, ' we have to suppose ,' as Dr. R. C. Majumdar observes, ' that Vinaya Chandra was actively engaged in his office for nearly sixty-five to seventy years (allowing some years before 28 and after 91)' while his son was actively engaged in his office more than one hundred years after his father had entered the office. This is highly improbable, if not impossible.[20] The reading of the date portion by Mr. Ghosh seems to be correct and the Triliñgi plate may more likely be placed in the year 88, when Indravarman II was reigning.

The Jirjiñgi grant of Indravarman I of the year 39 was composed by the Sandhivigrahika Devasinghadeva and the donees were Agnisvāmin and his son Rudrasvāmin.

II. *Smantavarman—Year 64.*

After Indravarman I of the year 39 comes in order of chronology king Sāmantavarman, whose Pennuturu[22] grant is dated in the year 64. The grant was issued from Baumyavana the abode of the goddess Jayaśri and it records the gift of the village Pratishṭhāpura, situated in the district of Dāgha Pañchāli on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa. The donees were the four Brāhsmaṇas namely Yajñaśarman, Gaurīśarman, Agniśarman and Umāśarman of the Vatsagotra who were also the students of Vājasanei Śākhā. The king made the grant for the increase of the religious merit of his parents at the request of his uncle Ādityarāja.

The date of the grant is mentioned as the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the sixty-fourth year of the victorious reign, and in figures the date is written as the year 64 Pushya dina 28.

The writer and the engraver of the grant was Vinaya Chandra, son of Bhānu Chandra, the very person who wrote and engraved the grants of the Gañga kings till the 91st year of this era. One Āditya Varman acted as Dūtaka (mentioned here as Rājājñāpālaka) for executing the grant.

King Sāmanta Varman like his predecessor king Indravarman I assumes the title of Trikaliñgādhipati, and it may be noted here that this epithet was not assumed by any other king of this dyanasty till the time of Vajrahasta V who came to the throne in 960 Śaka year.

19. *IA*, vol. XIII, p. 121. Shri J. C. Ghosh reads the date as 101 and assigns it to the reign of Indravarman II (*JBORS*, vols. XX, pp. 45 f.).

20. R. C. Majumdar, *Outline of the History of Kalinga* (Reprinted from the *Dacca University studies*), vol. II, no. II, (January, 1938), p. 13.

21. *EI*, vol. XXVI, p. 216 ff.

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The Ponnuturu grant is a recent discovery and before it scholars were of the opinion that there was a hiatus of forty years between Indravarman I (year 39) and Hastivarman alias Raṇabhīta-Rājasiṁha whom we know from the Narasiṁhapalli grant[22] dated year 79 and the Urlāṁ grant[23] dated year 80. Shrī Subba Rao[24] has attempted to bridge this gap with the help of two Chicacole plates already noticed by Dr. Fleet.[25] Both these plates are dated in the year 51, and while one is issued by Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, the other belongs to Satyavarman, son of Devendravarman. Naturally, therefore, Shri Rao feels inclined to place immediately after Indravarman I three kings: Anantavarman, his son Devendravarman and the latter's son satyavarman. The arguments of Shri Rao are that these two plates are inscribed with the characters which are archaic Telugu of about the middle of the 6th century A.D. and that the date is written clearly in words 'गांगेयबंशप्रबर्धमानबिजयराज्यसंबत्सरं अेकपंचाशत्'.[26] Dr. Fleet, however, thinks that these two Chicacole grants are wrongly dated in the year 51, as according to him Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, is identical with his namesake found in the Vizāgapatam charter of the year 254[27]. He thus observes: 'These three grants[28] of Devendravarma and Satyavarma are shown by the characters in which they are engraved, to be of later date than the three grants of Indravarma (dated 91, 128 and 146).[29] Consequently the fifty-first year which is quoted in one of the grants of Devendravarma and in the grant of his son Satyavarma cannot be referred to the same epoch with the dates of 91, 128 and 146 of Indravarma." Dr. Fleet's arguments require further modification in the light of recent researches on the chronology of the Eastern Gangas. The date of Satyavarman's Chicacole plate is now read as "गांगेयबंश संबच्छर सातत्रयेक पंचाशत्" which means 351 year of the Gañga era. It may be pointed out in this connection that the era used by the Eastern Gañga rulers was expressly called Gañga era for the first time in the Alamaṇḍā grant of Anantavarman II, dated 304.[30] So the Chicacole grant of Devendravarman dated in the "गांगेयबंशप्रबर्धमानबिजयराज्यसंबत्सरं अेकपंचाशत्" and that of Satyavarman dated in the "गांगेयबंशसंबत्सरशतानं अेकपंचाशत्" may more likely be placed after the Alamaṇḍā charter of Gañga era 304. The grant of Satyavarman is now known to be dated

22. *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 62.
23. *EI*, vol. XXII, pp. 332-33.
24. Subba Rao, *op.cit*, pp. 99-102.
25. *IA*, vol. XIII, pp. 273 ff.
26. Subba Rao, *op.cit.*, p. 100.
27. *IA*, vol. XIV, pp. 10-12.
28. Including the Vizagapatam grant of the year 254.
29. It should be 138.
30. *EI*, vol. III, p. 18.

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in 351 Gañga era and the same date may also be assinged for the plates of Devendravarman although Shri Rao prefers the year 51 and Dr. Fleet suggests 251. It may be pointed out that Aksaśālī Sarvadeva mentioned in the Chicacole grant of Devendravarman is found in the Chipurupalli grant of Anantavarman dated 383 G. E. and also in the Chiḍivalasa grant[31] of Devendravarman of the Gañga year 397. These two grants were not discovered by the time Dr. Fleet edited the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman and we have no doubt that if the learned scholar had an opportunity to examine these records he would certainly have corrected the date of the Chicacole grant as 351 instead of 251. Thus the two Chicacole plates have nothing to do with the period of 40 years that saparates Indravarman I from Hastivarman and Shri Rao's effort to bridge this so-called gap with their help proves abortive.

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31. *JAHRS*, vol. II, p. 146 ff.

ĀDITYA AND VIKRAMĀDITYA

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM

The kingdom of the Western Chālukyas of Vātāpi was at the height of its power and glory under Pulakēśin II (A.D. 609-642). Even Harshavardhana of Kanyakubja who had subjugated practically the whole of North India to deseve the title of *Uttarāpathéśvara* had to suffer defeat at his hands. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who visited the Chālukya kingdom and its capital during the reign of this monarch has recorded the prosperous conditions that prevailed there.

But the reign of this great king ended in a terrible disaster. Narasiṁhavarman I otherwise known as Māmalla, the Pallava king of Kānchīpuram, invaded the Chālukya territory, defeated in battle Pulakēśin II and captured his kingdom. Even the capital city of Vātāpi was occupied by the Pallavas, as may be seen from an inscription in beautiful Pallava-Grantha Characters found at the place.[1]

This event seems to have taken place in *Circa* A.D. 642.[2] It also appears that the Chālukya kingdom was under the occupation of the Pallavas for some time thereafter till the Chālukya power was restored by Vikramāditya I, the son of Pulakēśin II.

Vikramāditya counts the commencement of his reign from Ś 577 equivalent to A.D. 655, as is evident from the Gadval plates[3] dated in the twentieth year of his reign corresponding to Śaka 596. This inscription and his Sāvanūr Plates[4] dated in the same year, the undated

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. XI, Bombay-Karnatak, No. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 1.

3. *EI*, vol. X., p. 101. The actual date has been calculated as Tuesday, 25th April 674. The Savanur Plates, issued on the same day, full-moon tithi in the month of Vaiśākha in the twentieth regnal year from the same camp at Uragapura in the Cholika vishaya, gives the corresponding Śaka year as 597, (*EI*, vol. XXVII, No. 20) where it is taken as the 'current' one, while the year quoted in the Gadwal Plates is taken as the 'expired' one. But it is to be noted that both these documents were written by the same person. The Talamanchi plates (*EI*, vol. IX, pp. 98-102) dated in Vikramāditya VI's regnal year, without however quoting the corresponding Śaka year registers a gift of land made at the time of a solar eclipse in the month of Śrāvana. The date has been calculated to be 13th of July, A.D. 660.

4. *EI*, vol. XXVII, No. 20.

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Haiderabad Plates[5] as also the spurious Kurtakoti plates[6] mention that he defeated the three successive Pallava Kings, Narasiṁhavarman I, Mahendravarman II and Paramēśvaravarman I. The last named king Paramēśvaravarman I was the Pallava adversary of Vikramāditya I in his southern expedition in the course of which he was encamped at Magapura in the Chōḷa country in A.D. 674. It will be seen therefrom that he had to fight hard with the Pallavas over a fairly long period to wrest his patrimony.

He was not the eldest son of Pulakēśin II. He had at least two brothers Chandrāditya and Raṇarāghavarman elder to him. This becomes clear from the Nerūr and Kochre plates of Vijayamahādevī his queen. Both of them relate to the time after the restoration of Chālukya rule by Vikramāditya I. The Nerūr grant[7] registers the gift of some land to a *Brāhmaṇa* by Vijaya Bhaṭṭārakā, the *Priyamahishi* of Chandrāditya. In the genealogical portion, after Pulakēśin II, his dear son (*Priyatanayah*) Vikramāditya is introduced and referred to in connection with his re-establishment of Chālukya rule. Then his elder brother Śrī Chandrāditya-Prithivī-Vallabha-Mahārāja is mentioned, as also his queen who made the grant in her own regnal year (Śvarājya Varshe). The other, Kochre-grant[8] which follows closely the Nerūr grant in other respects, registers a land gift made by her to a Brāhmaṇa on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fornight in the month of Vaiśākha in her region. The year or the other astronomical details with which the corresponding date in the Christian era can be calculated are not given. In this inscription Chandrāditya is given the title Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhiraja, while his queen is called Śrī Vijaya Mahādēvī.

The Honnūr Plates of the sixteenth year of Vikramāditya[9] mention another elder brother of his, by name Raṇarāghavarman, whose daughter dear to him as life (*Prāṇa Samaduḥitā*) was the wife of the Ganga Prince Mādhava who was the *vijñāpti* for the grant recorded in the plates.

Vikramāditya had also a brother called Jayasiṁha, younger to him. This is clear from the Navsari copper plate grant of Jayasiṁha[10] dated in the (Kalachuri) year 421 corresponding to A.D. 671. It registers the grant of a village to some Bhāhmaṇas by his son Yuvarāja Śilāditya. The genealogical portion of the grant begins with Pulakēśin II of the

5. *IA*, vol. VI. pp. 76 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. VII, pp. 219 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 163.
8. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 44.
9. *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1939, No. 30.
10. *JBBRAS*, vol. XVI, p. 1.

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Chālukya family mentions another son of Pulakēśin, named Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman "whose (dignity or) Prosperity was augmented (or brought about) by his elder brother Vikramāditya (*Jyāyasā bhrātrā Samabhi Varddhita Vibhūtih*). In the reign of this Jayasiṁha his son Srayāśraya Śilāditya Yuvarāja made the grant.

We thus come to know of four sons of Pulakēśin II, Chandrāditya, Raṇarāghavarman, Vikramāditya and Jayasiṁha in the order of their birth. A copper plate grant[11] obtained in the Karnul District mentions an Ādityavarman as a son of Pulakēśin II. It records a gift of land made to a Brāhmaṇa in the first year of his reign on the full moon day in the month of Kārtika at the great festival of Paitāmahi and Hiraṇyagarbha. The Śaka is not given in the inscription; nor does it contain other astronomical details with the help of which the equivalent date in Christian era could be determined. The inscription does not mention Vikramāditya. And there is no information in it to show his order of birth among the sons of Pulakēśin.

This Ādityavarman is not mentioned in the other records. But he is described in this inscription as 'possessing the supreme rule over the whole circuit of earth which had been overcome by the strength of his own arm and prowess' (*Sva bhuja bala-parākkram-ākkrānta sakala-mahīmandal-ādhirājyah*) and also having the title *prithivī-vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvarah*. So he has to be assigned to the period after the restoration of sovereignty by the Chālukyas. But there is no indication whether the recovery of the Chālukyas under Ādityavarman took place before or after its restoration by Vikramāditya.

Dr. Fleet[12] was inclined to think that 'Ādityavarman was the eldest son of Pulakēśin II' and that he endeavoured to wrest the succession from his younger brother after the Chālukya restoration by Vikramāditya. The omission of the name of Ādityavarman in all the subsequent records of the family was the main reason which led him to that conclusion. The wording in the grant of Ādityavarman would show, according to Dr. Fleet, either that he made the first attempt to restore the sovereignty and failed, or else that, after the restoration by Vikramāditya I, he endeavoured to wrest the succession from his younger brother. He however felt that the former supposition was less probable than the latter one.

The Kanthēru grant of A.D. 1009[13] issued more than three and a half centruries later after the restoration by Tailapa II of the later

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 233. Also *IA*, vol. XI, p. 66.
12. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 367.
13. *IA*, vol. XVI, p. 17.

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Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāni as also a few other records that follow the same draft introduces two generations in the genealogy between Pulakēśin II and Vikramāditya I, thus making the latter the great-grandson of the former instead of his son. It mentions one Nedamāri as the son of Pulakēśin, and an Ādityavarman as Nedamāri's son. Vikramāditya has been made the son of Ādityavarman. Fleet thinks that the name of Ādityavarman as the supposed father of Vikramāditya I very possibly owed its existence to his really having had a brother of that name.[14] But it should be noted that this late record contains also some misstatements based on imperfect tradition, and as such too much reliance cannot be placed on such late records.

A comparison of the record of Ādityavarman with those of Vikramāditya would show that there are some common features in the contents and phraseology among them.

The grant of Ādityavarman describes the royal donor and records the issue of his order in the following words : *Sva-Bhuja-Bala-Parākramā-Krānta-Sakala mahīmanadalādhirājyaḥ Śrimad-Āditya varma-pṛithvī-vallabha mahārājādhiraja-parameśvaraḥ kriśala Sarvān-ājñāpayati* (11. 12-14.) The Gadval plates after narrating the victories of Vikramāditya mention the issue of the order by him in the following words : *Sa parākram ākkranta sakala mahīmandala-adhirājyō Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Śri Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvaraō-sarvān-evamājñāpayati* (11. 22-23.)

Ādityavarman is said to have made the grant for the merit of his mother and father and also of himself : *mātāpitōr-ātmanas-chapuṇya āvāptaye udakapūrvvam dattam.* (1.18) The specific mention in the grant of the mother and father as the persons for whose merit also the gift was made is rather exceptional and not usually found in the inscriptions of this dyansty. But this is found in many of the copper plates of Vikramāditya, *e.g.*, his Kurnool plates of the third year[15] as also the undated Kurnool plates of his.[16] In the Navsāri plates of the Gujarat Chālukya Jayasiṁha, referred to earlier, Vikramāditya is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father and another Nāgavardhana. (*mātā pitṛ Śri Nāgavardhana pādamudhyāta*)[17] Similar expressions are not found elsewhere.

While editing the 'Five copper-plate grants of the western Chālukya dynasty from the Kurnūl District' Fleet opines that the

14. *Bombay Gazeteer*, vol. I., pt. II, p. 361, n. 3.
15. *JBRAS.*, vol. XVI, p. 237. (No. II) line. 21.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 239 (No. III), line 19.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 2. line. 7.

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Karnūl grants of Vikramāditya I (Nos. II and III) and the Nerūr and Kochre grants of Chandrāditya's wife give some indication of being amplified in their concluding portions from the version of the Karnūl grant of Ādityavarman (No. I) which he consideres as the standard draft.[18]

All the grants of Vikramāditya as also those of others like Chandrāditya of the family issued after the restoration of the Chālukya sovereignty by him contain a verse describing how he obtained the paramount power :

rana-śirasi ripu narendrān-diśi diśi
jitvā sva-vamśajam Lakshmīm
prāpyacha Parameśvaratam—Anī
vārita Vikramādityaḥ

' Anivārita Vikramāditya, who, having recovered at the head of battle the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter acquired the title of ' Supreme Lord ' (Paramēśvaraḥ).'[19]

The title *Parameśvara* which Vikramāditya is said to have acquired in this manner is found applied to Ādityavarman in his grant.

The expression *Ānivārita Vikramādityaḥ* occurring in this verse is generally taken as the name of the ruler. It is true *anivārita* was borne as a title by Vikramāditya II,[20] as will be evident from the names of some of his officers, *e.g.*, *Anivāritachāri*[21], *Anivārith-puṇyavallabha*[22] etc. It is likely that it was also a title of Vikramāditya I. But it is also to be taken in the literal or true sense of the word, as will be evident from the expression *sarvānivārit-ajñā*, ' whose orders are unopposed by all men,' occurring in verse 10 of the Gadval plates. Thus the expression *Anivārita Vikramāditya* is better translated as " Āditya of unopposed (or unrepulsed) valour (or prowess).

This would make Āditya as the original name and Vikramāditya or Āditya of (unequal) valour as the title, thus making it possible that Ādityavarman was the same as Vikramāditya. It is not therefore necessaty to take Ādityavarman as another son of Pulakēśin II different from Vikramāditya. They may be taken as the names of one and the

18. *Ibid.*, vol. XVI pp. 181-2 fn.
19. *EI*, vol. X, p. 103. verse. 2.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 15, p. 101 fn. 4.
21. *IA*, vol. X, p. 164.
22. *EI*, vol. III, p. 360.

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same person. Ādityavarman was perhaps the orginal name and when he became renowned on account of his victories, by gaining for himself the estate of his father which had been hidden (or obstructed) by three kings (who were probably Chandrāditya, Raṇarāghavarman and Narasiṁhavarman Pallava) he assumed the title of Vikramāditya. The analogy of Kulottunga I, the Chōḷa Emperor of a later period, may be cited as an example. In the early years of his reign he was known only as Rajēndra, but only later as Kulottunga, which name he is known to have assumed in his fourth regnal year.

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THE INSTITUTION OF SAÑJAKAS IN KAMBUJADEŚA

Dr. Baij Nath Puri

The institution of Sañjakas, which is prominent only in later Kambuja records, seems to be based on certain administrative and moral principles of attachment, allegiance and devotion to the king who was supposed to have a divine element in him. It appears from a perusal of a few records mentioning Sañjakas that this institution was not very ancient in that country, as the earliest reference to it is in a record of Jayavarman V, dated in the Śaka year 891 = A.D. 969. It, however, appears that this institution, or at least some of the principles on which it was based, could be traced in Indian History. In this short paper an attempt is made to study the significance of these Sañjakas, with particular reference to the period, functions, types of appointments, provision after death, conferment of titles, and parallelism between this institution and similar ones in India and Ceylon. It is equally necessary to consider the etymology of this term. The earliest record mentioning the Sañjakas is the Kok Rosei inscription[1] recorded on a Stele and found 2½ miles to the East of mount Kulen in the Angkor district. The inscription is very much damaged, and refers to those families which gave their daughters to those holding the supreme power ; the devoted and faithful Sañjakas who guarded the person of the king in battles with their oaths and inalienable property (*mṛitakadhana*); and certain other matters regarding the education of the sons of the family which supplied royal officials and various grades and classes of royal officers.

Another inscription[2] of Jayavarman V, but dated in 896 = A.D. 974 mentions three principal Sañjakas of the king who could accept the female members of the two new castes or corporations (varṇa) of Khmuk and Karmantara. But when these were married to these Sañjakas or members of the three superior castes they were not to be regarded as heritable property.

1. Aymonier, vol. I. p. 420 ff; Coedes, *BEFEO*, vol. XXVIII, p. 113; Majumdar, No. 110, p. 283.

2. Coedes, *IC*, vol. II, p. 62 ; Majumdar, No. 110. A p. 588.

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The third record[3] is the Prasat Trapan Run inscription of Jayavīravarman dated in the year 928 = A.D. 1006. It refers to the presence of the Sañjakas as witnesses when the king made a donation of unclaimed land to Kavindra Pandit. These included the reciter of Dharmaśāstras, the chief of the store-house of the first class, that of the second class, and the third class, and the keeper of archives. The performance of the civil functions by the Sañjakas is very important, as it rightly suggests that they were not bodyguards of the ruler in the ordinary sense.

The next inscription[4] is from Prasat Ben in the Sisophon District referring to a Buddhist foundation made in the Śaka year 948, during the reign of Sūryavarman. It furnishes the names of seven disgnitaries, all Sañjakas, who were witness of the foundation.

The last record in this connection is the Bantay Chmar inscription[5] from the temple of this name in the Sisophon district. The inscription gives a very interesting account of the heroic deeds of four Sañjakas who defended the person of their king at the cost of their lives. According to Coedes this inscription belongs to the reign of Jayavarman VII, and the prince Śrī Śrīndrakumāra, the hero of this inscription, was the son of that king. This record shows that the Sañjakas were not merely attached to the king, but were equally attached to the heir apparent.

These records thus cover the period from Śaka 891 or A.D. 969 up to the time of Jayavarman VII who ascended the throne in A.D. 1181 and ruled probably till A.D. 1204.[6] It is equally interesting to learn that all the records in which this term is noticed were not very far off from the Imperial capitals which is rather natural. These Sañjakas were expected to stay with the Emperor in his palace, and their number was not large. The second inscription of Jayavarman V suggests that the king had only three principal Sañjakas, and not a huge battalion of personal bodyguard. It is also clear from the Bantay Chmar record that the Sañjakas were devoted not only to the king but to the Royal family as a whole, and four lives were sacrificed for the heir apparent. This might also imply that the Sañjakas continued to serve the Royal house even after the death of the master with the change in allegiance to the new sovereign. It is not like the case in certain western countries where the entire lot of personal attendants had to sacrifice itself with the dead king.

3. Finot, *BEFEO*, vol. XXVIII, p. 58 ; Majumdar, No. 131, p. 331 ff.

4. Aymonier, vol. II, p. 351 ; Majumdar, No. 140, p. 244.

5. Aymonier, vol. II, p. 344 ; Coedes, *BEFEO*, vol. XXIX, p. 309 ; Majumdar, No. 183 p. 528 ff.

6. Ref. Ta Prohm Ins., and Sambaur ins. (Majumdar, Nos. 177 and 184.)

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According to Aymonier,[7] the term Sanjak might be interpreted as 'devoted and faithful brother in arms who had taken the oath of allegiance under special ceremonies.' Finot rightly pointed[8] out that the Sanjakas also performed civil functions and assisted in the administration of religious foundations. This term is equated[9] with the title *Samṭac* (Modern Khmer *Sanḍac*, Siamese *Somḍet*) which is applied to princes of high rank, and members of the Royal family. The term continued to be used till the end of the twelfth centrury. Unfortunately scholars have not traced references to it in Sanskrit literature.

It may be suggested that this word is probably derived from the Sanskrit root *sañj* (or *saj*) which means, according to the lexicons,[10] 'to cling or stick or adhere to, be attached to or engaged in occupation with.' The sense of attachment and devotion to the king is conveyed with this word. The word Sañjak is also noticed in the Rājataraṅgiṇi[11]

It is really strange that this term is not used for the heroes who accompanied the king or attended on him. According to Masudi,[12] the companions of the king were called *balandjar* who were devoted friends, while Marcopolo has referred to certain number of people of quality in Ceylon who were devoted to the king and were buried when he died.

The few Kambuja records which notice this term also refer to the functions performed by the Sañjakas both in peace and in war. The latter aspect is also noticed in Indian History, and there are several instances of these devoted friends sacrificing their lives for the country and the king. The Portuguese accounts refer to such people called *Amoucos* or *Amochi* who are called *Cāveṭṭu* or *Cāver* in Malayalam who vowed themselves to death for the honour of the king and the country.[13] They served the ruler and performed heroic deeds which are described in several records. These squads who sacrificed their lives for the honour of the king and the country in special circumstances were also known in Malaya as Amoucos.

On the whole a study of the subject suggests that the Sañjaka institution was a late feature in Kambuja history, and it probably arose as a result of political exigency. It was not a huge battalion,

7. Vol. II. p. 305.
8. *BEFEO*, vol. XXVIII, p. 61 n. 3.
9. *Ibid.*, vol. XXXII.
10. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1132 col. 3.
11. VIII, 2361.
12. *BEFEO*, vol. XXVIII, p. 75.
13. Padmanabha Menon, *Kerala History*, vol. I, p. 511.

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but confined to a few devoted band of soldiers who played their part in peace and in war—for constructive and protective purposes. The Sañjakas probably belonged to very good families which provided administrative officers and the king looked after the welfare of the family in the lifetime as well as after the death of these devoted brothers in arms. Their appointments were more or less hereditary. The name given to this institution is probably Sanskrit, and not an indigenous one; but it is not known, and when this institution died down, the spirit behind it continued.

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THE IMPERIAL PRATIHĀRAS, RĀMABHADRA AND BHOJA A REVISED STUDY

DR. DASHARATHA SHARMA

In a paper entitled "The Imperial Pratihāras, A Revised Study" published in the *Journal of Indian History*, 1943, I brought down the history of the Imperial Pratihāras up to V. 890, the year of Nāgabhaṭa II's death.[1] In this paper, I deal with his two immediate successors, Rāmabhadra and Bhoja I, stressing, as before, those points wherein I differ from eminent writers on the subject like Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. R. S. Ṭripathi.

Rāmabhadra (c. A. D. 833-836)

As the first inscription of Rāmabhadra's successor, Bhoja I, belongs to V. 893 (A.D. 836) and the last known date of Nāgabhaṭa II is V. 890, Rāmabhadra could have ruled for only two or three years, from V. 890 to V. 893. That he had to face trouble, internal as well as external, can be assumed on the basis of verse 12 of Bhoja's Sāgartāl inscription which states that he 'had the haughty commanders of armies forcibly bound down by his (subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge and looked radiant by having destroyed the obstacles caused by the evil-doers.'[2] Internal trouble may have been caused by over-powerful feudatories, and the external by Devapāla of Bengal who is credited with the *digvijaya* of Āryāvarta and Bhāratavarsha respectively in the Bādal inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign[3] and the Monghyr Plates of Devapāla himself.[4] Such claims, though highly exaggerated, need not be dismissed as mere bombast.[5] Rāmabhadra may have been actually defeated by Devapāla and lost some of his territory at least temporarily.

But this assumption of the comparative weakness of Rāmabhadra should not lead us to overstate the case against him and come to the

1. The date is given by the *Prabhāvakacharita*.
2. *EI*, vol. XVIII, p. 108.
3. Verse 5.
4. Varse 15.
5. For divergent views on the point see B. P. Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 370 and R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 240.

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definite conclusion that he lost both Bundelkhand and Gūrjaratrā, (besides some unspecified territories), unless it can be justified on the basis of evidence, the meaning of which is absolutely clear. The Barāh Plate is supposed to prove that Rāmabhadra lost Bundelkhand. But all that the Barāh Plate[6] has to state, is the following:

(1) That it was issued from the camp situated at Mahodaya, *i.e.*, Kanauj, by Bhojadeva in V. 893.

(2) That the Grant had originally been made by *Parameśvara* Śarvavarman and later on confirmed by Mahārāja Śrī-Nāgabhaṭa.

(3) That *through the incapacity of the legal*[7] *officer* in the reign of Mahārāja Śrī-Rāmabhadra the donee could not have his dues for a short period.

(4) That Bhojadeva, after going thrugh the old history of the Grant, delcared the obstruction illegal and gave back the Valākāgrahāra which lay in the Udumbara-*viśaya* of the Kālañjara-*maṇḍala* in the Kānyakubja-*bhukti* to the Brāhmaṇas born of the family of Bhaṭṭa Kachara-svāmin.

Though Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. R. S. Tripathi, and Dr. B. P. Sinha think otherwise,[8] there is nothing here to indicate that the Kālañjara-*maṇḍala* had passed out of Rāmabhadra's hands. That Bhoja could grant away lands from it in the very first year of his reign should rather lead one to assume that Rāmabhadra continued as the master of Kānyakubja and Kālañjara, whatever else he may have lost. If the donee could not have his dues from the land for some time, why should we try to invent reasons of our own for this contingency and not accept the express statement of the Plate itself that the obstruction was due to the incapacity of the judicial officer?[8a] Such cases of judicial aberration are not rare even now. The assumption of a political change resulting in the passing away of the territory of Kalañjara from the Pratihāras to the Pālas in Rāmabhadra's reign is unjustified, also if we remember, as we should, the time-honoured Indian custom of maintaining the donations made by a previous dynasty. 'The land', as stated by many of our land grants, 'has been enjoyed by many rulers, from Sagara onwards. His is the merit who actually possesses it. One who donates

6. *EI*, vol. X, p. 208.

7. The words are "*vyavahārino vaiguṇyāt kiñchitkālam vihatam.*" Why should not scholars give them their literal sense?

8. See respectively *EI*, vol. XVIII, p. 106; Tripati, *op. cit.*, p. 237, and Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

8a See the *Tilakamañjari*, Nirnayasāgar Press edition, p. 54, for such *vichchhedas* as something not uncommon and the King's duty to restore the original grants. These *vichchhedas* of the *Tilakamañjarī* as well as our Grant, it may be noted, are not ascribed to any political change.

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land resides in heaven for 60,000 years. One who takes it away or approves its being taken away resides in hell for the same period.' The Barāh Plate itself, originally issued by (Maukharī) Śarvavarman but later confirmed by Nāgabhaṭa II and Bhoja, is a good illustration of a practice which a pious ruler like Devapāla would not probably have ignored, even if he had conquered Bundelkhand.

The inference of the decline in Rāmabhadra's power in Gūrjaratrā is even less justified. The Daulatpura Grant merely speaks of (1) a grant in śivāgrahāra of the Ḍeṇḍavānaka-*viṣaya* of Gūrjaratrā by Mahārāja Śrī Vatsarājadeva to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Vāsudeva, (2) of the transfer of a sixth part of the gift by the donee to Bhaṭṭa-Vishṇu with the approval of Mahārāja Śrī-Nāgabhaṭṭadeva, (3) of the loss of the deed of donation as well as approval in Bhoja's reign, and (4) their restoration by the last named ruler in V. 900, after going through the relevant records.[9] It should be remembered that there is no mention of Rāmabhadra here. Bringing him in threfore as the cause of Pratihāra decline in Gūrjaratrā (and it may be remarked that there is actually no positive or circumstantial evidence for such an assumption)[9a] can be due only to certain preconceived notions.

Rāmabhadra was a devout worshipper of the Sun-god.[10] Mihira, the name he gave to his son, the future great Bhoja,[11] is one of the well-known synonyms of *Sūrya*.

Bhoja I.

The next ruler, Bhoja I, Mihira or Mihira-Bhoja, must be regarded as the greatest ruler of the Pratihāra dynasty. When he came to the throne, Devapāla was still ruling in Bengal. On the western side, the danger from the Arabs of Sindh had never ended. In the south, Amoghavarsha, an inheritor of the traditions set up by the redoubtable Rāshṭrakūṭa raiders, Dantidurga, Dhruva and Govinda III, could always be a potential danger to the Pratihāra empire; and within the empire itself the increased power of the feudatories, who had helped Rāmabhadra against his enemies could ultimately be more a source of weakness than strength. It is clear that the Pratihāra throne was to be no bed of roses for the youthful ruler.

9. *EI*, vol. p. 208.

9a. See my paper on the Pratihāras of Mandor published in the *Birlā Vidyā Vihār Magazine*, vols II and III, pp. 11-20, Hindi Section.

10. He is described in Pratihāra inscriptions as *Paramādityabhakta*. In verse 15 of the Sāgartāl inscription, he is said to have obtained his son Mihira by propitiating the Sun through mysterious rites.

11. See last note.

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Most writers on Pratihāra history assume that Bhoja's first task was the restoration of his authority in Bundelkhand and Gūrjaratrā.[12] But if our reconstruction of Rāmabhadra's history is correct, no such effort could have been necessary; both these areas were within the Pratihāra empire at the time of Bhoja's accession and probably remained so to the end of his reign. Dr. Majumdar, no doubt, assumes that Bhoja lost Gūrjaratrā between A.D. 843, the date of his Daulatpurā Plate, and A.D. 861, the year of the Maṇḍor Pratihāra Kakkuka's Ghaṭiyālā inscription which 'refers to the province as being held by that king.'[13] But the assumption is fallacious, for the Ghaṭiyālā inscription, instead of saying that Kakkuka ruled over Gūrjaratrā, merely states that he had won great renown in Travaṇi, Valla, Māḍa Ārya, Gūrjaratrā, Lāṭa and Parvata.[14] Renown could have been easily obtained even by acting as Bhoja's general or deputy in some of these regions.[15] Kakkuka's father, Kakka, had similarly 'won fame' in the battle of Monghyr,[16] even though none maintains that Monghyr was within the Pratihāra kingdom of Maṇḍor.

Actually Bhoja's reign may have begun with a conflict with Devapāla of Gauḍa who, as we have seen, is credited with the *digvijaya* of practically the whole of India.[17] More specifically we are told in the Bādal inscription that attending to his minister Kedāramiśra's advice, he 'eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas and *scattered the conceit of the Draviḍas and Gūrjaras.*'[18] The Draviḍas mentioned here may either be Pallavas or Pāṇḍyas.[19] But the Gūrjara ruler, who was Kedāramiśra's contemporary, can only be the Pratihāra ruler Bhoja.[20]

Dr. R. C. Majumdar believes that Bjoja succeded in defeating Devapāla.[21] The view is based on verse 18 of Bhoja's Sāgartāl inscrip-

12. Cf. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 238, and R. C. Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 29-30.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

14. *Yena prāptā mahākhyātis Travaṇyām Valla Mādayoḥ Āryeshu Gūrjaratrāyām Lāṭadeśe cha Parvate.*

15. Of the countries mentioned in the last footnote Lāṭa was under the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Gujarāt. Perhaps the campaign in which he took part against them is the one referred to in the Bagumrā Plates of A.D. 267.

16. *EI*, vol. XVIII, p. 96. "*Yaśo Mudgagirau labdhaṁ yena Gauḍaiḥ samaṁ raṇe.*"

17. See footnote 5.

18. Verse 13.

19. Cf. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Sinha, *op. cit.* p. 373 footnote 2.

20. 'As Kedaramiśra, the grandson of Darbhapāṇi, who had served Devapāla, is given the credit for this success over 'the lord of Gūrjaras', the event must have happened in the last years of Devapāla, and then his contemporary at that time must have been Bhoja I (B. P. Sinha, *op. cit.* Who was the aggressor cannot, however, be decided on the basis of this reference.

21. *EI*, vol. XVIII, p. 106. The view has been adopted, without any critical examination, by many writers on the subject.

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tion which is supposed to state that Bhoja had as his remarried bride 'the other Lakshmī, the source of the fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son.' But as pointed out elsewhere by me, Dr. Majumdar has misunderstood and misinterpreted the verse.[22] If it is anything that the writer of the inscription is out to impress on the reader, it is that Bhoja's Lakshmī stood in a class by herself. She was no *punarbhū*, *i.e.*, remarried woman. She was different from Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu, for unlike her she was born not from *kshīrasāgara* but the *sāgara* known as the enemies' army, which was churned by *kula* mountains in the form of rulers belonging to Bhoja's clan ; and she was *dharmāpatya-yaśaḥprasuti*, *i.e.*, the source of *dharma* and *yaśas* instead of being *Kāmaprasūti* like Vishṇu's Lakshmī. Actually therefore the verse has no reference to Dharma's son, Devapāla, or of his Lakshmī (sovereignty) being wedded as a *punarbhū* by Bhoja.

Devapāla was probably middle-aged when Bhoja ascended the throne. When he (Devapāla) passed away in c. 850 and was succeeded by three unmartial rulers, Śūrapāla, Vigrahapāla I and Nārāyaṇapāla, Bhoja had his chance. And to add to Pāla difficulties, there were Rāshṭrakūṭa attacks, both by Amoghavarsha I and his successor Kṛishṇa II[23] and the conquest of Rāḍha by the Śulkī king, Mahārājādhirāja Ranastambha.[24] The Kahlā Plates, discovered in Gorakhpur District, state that Guṇāmbhodhideva,who was ninth in ascent from Sodhadeva (V. 1134), received land from Bhoja and took away by force the royal fortune of Gauḍa.[25] Considering the date of Guṇāmbhodhideva, we have to regard him as one of Bhoja's Pratiharas generals rewarded for his services against the Pālas. Another Pratihār feudatory, who took part in this expedition, was probably Guhila of Chāṭsū who is described in his grandson Bāllāditya's inscription as a devoted follower of his master (*svāminishṭhaḥ*), exacting tribute from eastern rulers after defeating the Lord of Gauḍa.[26] The overlord can, no doubt, be Bhoja's son and successor, Mahendrapāla also, as opined by Dr. R. S. Tripathi.[27] But as Guhila's grandfather, Śaṅkaragaṇa, served Bhoja's grandfather, Nāgabhaṭa II, should we not regard Bhoja and Guhila as contemporary rulers ? If Guhila's father, Harsha, also served Bhoja,[28] it was due to the abnormally short reign of Rāmabhadra.

22. *Journal of Oriental Research*, vol. XXIV, pp. 70-1.
23. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 388 ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
24. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 388.
25. *EI*, vol. VII, pp. 85-92.
26. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 250 ; *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 15, verse 23.
27. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
28. *E.I*, XII, p. 15, verse 19

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On the basis of this evidence, we can reasonably conclude that in the latter part of Bhoja's reign the Pratihāra dominions expanded eastwards and reached at least as for as Gorakhpur. Actually the extension of the empire may have been even greater. Bihar has no inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla between his seventeenth and fifty-fourth regnal years.[29] If this was due to the disappearance of Pāla power from this region, credit for this may partly be given to Bhoja whose last year roughly corresponds to Nārāyaṇapāla's thirty-first regnal year.[30] Bihar, between the 17th and 31st regnal years of Nārāyaṇapāla, must have been the scene of a protracted Pratihāra-Pāla conflict, which probably ended early in the reign of Mahendrapāla Pratihāra with the complete conquest of Bihar and the extention of Pratihāra power even to some parts of Bengāl.[31]

On the northern side, success appears to have come early to Bhoja, for Śaṅkaragaṇa's son, Harsha of Chāṭsū, who could have been only an elder contemporary of Bhoja, is described as having defeated the northern rulers with the help of his mighty elephant force and to have 'presented loyally to Bhoja horses of a breed, the *Srivaṁśa*, which could cross seas of sand.[32] The rulers defeated are not specified, but from the reference to sandy tracts, is it not likely that they might have been the Arabs of Sindh and Multān. Bhoja is described by Sulaimān as the Muslims' greatest enemy.[33] Multān always stood in terror of the Pratihāras, and we are told by the Arab traveller, Al-Masūdī, that 'when the unbelievers march against Multān and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol and their enemies immediately withdraw."[34]

A fragmentary inscription recovered from the footsteps of Purāṇā Qila, Delhi, has shown that Delhi was included within Bhoja's dominions.[35] Pehoā in the Karnāl District was not far from here. An inscription found there refers itself to the (Harsha era year) 276, corresponding to A.D. 882 during the victorious reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara Bhojadeva* and records the grant of certain religious gifts by a Council (deśī) of horse-dealers.[36] The chief purchaser of their horses was the Pratihāra State. In places like Traighātaka, the State was the only buyer,[37] perhaps because Bhoja wanted to build up

29. Sinha, *op. cit.* p. 388.

30 and 31. I regard Bihār as the scene of a protracted struggle, because for a number of years neither a Pratihāra nor a Pāla inscription is to be found there. The situation changes with the accession of Mahendrapāla.

32. *EI*, vol. XII, p. 15, verse 19.

33. *ED*, vol. I, p. 4.

34. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

35. The inscription in question was discovered by Dr. G. H. Ojha.

36. *EI*, vol. I, pp. 186 ff.

37. *Ibid.*

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a strong cavalry, not only by exacting horses as tribute but also purchasing them in markets, closed as well as open. And that he was not unsuccessful in his objective can be seen from the Arab traveller Sulaimān's remark that no other Indian prince had such a fine cavalry.

Extension of Bhoja's territory even further to the north can be presumed, as pointed out already by many scholars, on the basis of the following verse from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[39] :

Hṛitaṁ Bhojādhirājena sa sāmrājyamadāpayat |
Pratihāratayā bhṛityībhute Thakkiyakānvaya ||

" He (Śaṅkaravarman) caused the universal sovereignty, which had been taken away by the *superior king* Bhoja, to be given to the scion of The Thakkiyaka family, who had become his servant by accepting the office of the Chamberlain." The superior king Bhoja obviously is *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Bhojadeva of Kanauj. Immediately preceding this verse is the account of the Gūrjara king Alakhāna who was defeated by Śaṅkaravarman and forced to surrender Ṭakka to save the rest of his kingdom.[40] One is tempted to regard him as Bhoja's Gūrjara nominee, set to rule over the newly conquered lands, even though there can be no certainty about such a conclusion.

In the beginning, Bhoja had no trouble from the Rāshṭrakūta side. When he ascended the throne in A.D. 836, the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler, Amoghavarsha, being engaged in a bitter life and death struggle with the Eastern Chālukyas and the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas, had neither time nor energy to prevent the westward expansion of Bhoja's empire, which speedily covered not only Mālwā but also Saurāshṭra.[41] At some time before A.D. 867,[42] however, when there was a war for the Gujarāt throne between Dhruva II and his younger brother, and Bhoja led a cavalry raid into Gujarāt, with a view to supporting the claims of the latter and bringing Gujarāt under his overlordship,[42a] Amoghavarsha perhaps

38. *ED*, vol. I, p. 4.

39. Book V, verse 151.

40. *Ibid.*, verses 149-150.

41. The westward extension of Bhoja's empire can be inferred from the Partābgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II, the *Vastrāpathamāhātmya* of the *Skandapurāṇa* and Sulaimān's description of Bhoja's empire as a tongue of land. For a fuller discussion see Tripathi, *op. cit.*, and Majumdar, *op. cit.*

42. This is the date of the Babumrā Grant in which the event is mentioned for the first time.

42a. My inference of a war of succession in which Bhoja interfered is based on verse 37 of the Broach inscription of Dhruva II, which mentions together the attack of the Gūrjara army and the defection of the younger brother, and verse 38 of the same record in which the strong Gūrjara army is described as strengthened by the *kulya* who, I think, can reasonably be identified with the *anuja* of verse 37. (For the text of the verses, cf. *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, part 2, p. 87, Inscription No. 129).

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helped the elder brother. The raid was repulsed by Dhruva II. It was a great achievement, an achievement, if we might use the imagery of the inscription itself, comparable to that of a cloud which overcasst the sky and darkens the midday Sun.[43] But such a check could only have been temporary. To regard it as a disaster, 'which reads like a repetition of Harsha's rout at the hands of Pulakēśin II'[44] is to exaggerate unduly its importance.

The reign of the next Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler, Amoghavarsha's son and successor, Kṛishṇa II (c. A.D. 880-914), was, as far as we can see, one of retaliation and counter-retaliation. Angered probably by the continued aggression of the Pratihāras, and also by their interference in the political affairs of Gujarāt, Kṛishṇa II and his namesake of the Gujarāt branch combined their forces at some time before A.D. 888[45] and led a raid into Northern India, which reached at least as far as Ujjayinī. Verse 14 of Indra III's Bagumrā Plates A.D. (914) speaks of a war between the Gūrjara, *i.e.*, the Pratihāra ruler, and Kṛishṇa II or Mānyakheṭa in which the latter bore himself valiantly and obviously defeated the Pratihārars. The event was till then (A.D. 914) remembered vividly by old people of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions. More detailed is the description in the Bagumrā Plates (A.D. 888) of Kṛishṇa II of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa branch, according to which he spread far and wide his fame by defeating the enemy at Ujjayinī in a battle witnessed by the Vallabha, *i.e.*, his overlord, Vallabharāja Kṛishṇa II of Mānyakheṭa.[45a]

Swift retaliation followed from the Pratihāra side.[46] We hear no more of the Gujarāt line of the Rāshṭrakūṭas after A.D. 888, the year in which we find the Rāshṭrakūta victory at Ujjayinī mentioned. This disappearance has been variously explained.[46a] But the best explana-

43. *Ibid.*, verse 41. It is one of the best testimonies to the strength of Bhoja in A.D. 867. Other enemies of Dhruva are in comparison with him *hīna, dīna, tejasā virahita.* To think that Kakkuka of Maṇḍor could have some time about A.D. 681 turned him out even from his patrimony of Gūrjaratrā does not seem reasonable.

44. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-3.

45. This is the date of the Ankuleśvar Grant in which the event is mentioned *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, Part 2, No. 131).

45a. *Ibid.*, verse 23.

46. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya makes Kṛishṇa's attack on Ujjayinī follow the Pratihāra conquest of Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala.* But this does not seem likely. If Kṛishṇa II of the Gujarāt branch had accompanied his overlord to Ujjayinī, after the Pratihāra conquest of Kheṭaka, a grateful master would most probably have restored the territory to its original owner and the Gujarāt line would have continued its career. That this does not happen makes us regard our reconstruction of the events as more reasonable. Kṛishṇa II is hotly pursued, as definitely stated by the Barton Museum inscription, and caught up by Bhoja near Revā, most probably after the northern Rāshṭrakūta raid. The Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom of Lāṭa is conquered by Bhoja, and dislodging the enemy needs all the resources of Mānyakheṭa and is accomplished most probably some years after Bhoja's death. And finally when this is done, the Gujarāt line is not restored, because it had no share in the reconquest of Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala.* The land belongs to the conqueror, *Vīrabhogyā vasundharā.*

46a. See *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1943, p. 166.

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tion probably comes from the Barton Museum inscription which speaks of a ruler ' who was known all round by every one as (Va) rāha,' who probably reached the Revā, *i.e.*, Narmadā, and ' caught Kṛishṇarāja by means of forceed marches.'[47] Taken unawares Bhoja's generals on the southern front had suffered some defeats. But when the Pratihāra military machine was fully geared up, the two Kṛishṇas appear to have beaten a hasty retreat to their own dominions, hotly pursued probably by Bhoja himself, who in spite of his old age could not let go unchallenged this insult to the Pratihāra arms. He came upon Kṛishṇarāja, when he had just reached the Revā (Narmadā) on the banks of which stood Broach, the capital of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas, and defeated him decisively.

Thus it was this southward Pratihāra thrust that was responsible for the extinction of the Gujarāt line of the Rashṭrakūṭas; and we can infer this fact not only from the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas not being mentioned after A.D. 888 but also from the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV which speak of Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala*[48] being freed by Akālavarha (Kṛishṇa II) from the hold of some enemy.[49] As this event has been regarded as important enough to be mentioned as Kṛishṇa II's sole achievement in a record of one of his own descendants, the enemy expelled from Kheṭaka must have been very powerful: and we perhaps have to regard him; only either as Bhoja himself or one of his immediate successors Mahendrapāla, Bhoja II and Mahīpāla. The Kheṭaka area was in A.D. 910 under Kṛishṇa's feudatory Prachaṇḍa.[50] Is it not therefore likely that Kheṭaka was conquered by Bhoja a little after A.D. 888 and reconquered by Kṛishṇa II perhaps during the chaotic condition that followed the death of Mahendrapāla in c. A.D. 908.

At its greatest extent Bhoja's empire included Uttar Pradesh, Central India, Mālwā, Rājasthān, Saurāshṭra, S.E. Punjāb and parts perhaps also of Bihār and Western Punjāb. Towards the close of his long reign, he conquered Lāṭa and ended the Gujarāt line of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

In the early part of Bhoja's reign the Pratihāra dominions were visited by the Arab traveller Sulaimān. He speaks of Bhoja's numerous forces, his fine cavalry, his unfriendliness towards the Arabs, the general prosperity of the empire and its safety from robbers. Exchanges in the Pratihāra dominions were, according to him, carried on with silver

47. *EI*, vol. XIX, p. 176 line 12. " *sātirekaiḥ prayāṇaiḥ prāpya drāk Kṛishṇarājam* ."

48. *EI*, vol. VII, p. 29.

49. The enemy according to Dr. A. S. Altekar may have been a member of the Gujarāt branch. But this seems less likely than his being some Pratihāra ruler.

50. Kapadwanj Grant of Kṛishṇa II, *EI*, I, p. 52.

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(and gold) dust.[51] This may be true. But we know also that he issued number of coins in alloyed silver which bear on the reverse the legend *Ādi-varāha* and have on the reverse 'a man with a boar's head, signifying the boar incarnation of Vishṇu, with a solar wheel in front of him.'[52] The wheel may perhaps be indicative of Bhoja's *chakravartitva*.

Bhoja was assuredly the greatest Indian ruler of the latter half of the ninth century. Not only did he surmount the early difficulties that faced him, but he built up also an empire which in its extent, well-ordered administration and religious freedom allowed to every individual[53] equalled or perhaps even excelled anything that India had seen since the spacious days of the Imperial Guptas. The main incentive that inspired Bhoja may not have been personal ambition alone. The title *Ādi-varāha*, the primeval boar who rescued the earth from the clutches of demons, that he adopts in his inscriptions as well as coins, in spite of being personally a worshipper of the goddess Bhagavatī, proves that he had come to believe that he was divinely commissioned to chastise the enemies of Indian culture and to free the world from their tyranny ; and a similar inference can be drawn from verse 22 of the Sāgartāl inscription which states that Bhoja destroyed the *asuras* by his supreme knowledge of military science, and from Sulaimān's statement already quoted, that the Gurjara, *i.e.*, Bhoja, was the worst enemy of the Arabs in India. Had the Rāshṭrakūṭas, instead of befriending the Arabs, followed the same policy as the Pratihāras, foreign rule might have disappeared from India nearly a century before the beginning of the next series of Muslim invasions.

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51. *ED*, vol. I, p. 4.

52. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 247. Thakkura Pheru mentions coins of Bhoja, perhaps this very Bhoja.

53. Bhoja was a worshipper of Bhagavatī. He built for his queens a temple of Vishṇu and speaks with respect of his father's devotion to the sun. Numerous temples devoted to various Hindu gods and goddesses were constructed during his reign. Jain tradition makes him a friend of their *āchārya*, Bappabhaṭṭi.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGNS OF THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA EMPEROR KṚISHṆA III

Dr. V. R. Deoras

Kṛishṇa III, the last great emperor of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, ruled from A.D. 939 to A.D. 967 He was certainly one of the most capable kings of Southern India and for some time his empire extended from the Vindhya mountains in the north to Cape Camorin in the south, and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. His southern campaigns constitute one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire, and the evidence of the Mahāvaṁśa, the Ceylonese chronicle, shows that the armies of Kṛishṇa III had actually invaded the island of Ceylon. In this article I propose to give a connected account of the various campaigns of Kṛishṇa III in different parts of South India, on the basis of the available literary and epigraphic evidence.

Indranandhi, a Jain author, completed his work, the Jvālāmālinī-kalpa, at Mānyakheṭa in the Śaka year 861, *i.e.*, A.D. 939, and he refers to Kṛishṇarāja as the reigning sovereign. Hence the year A.D.[1] 939 must have been the first year of his reign. This is confirmed by the fact that the Deoli copper-plates dated May 940 allude to his coronation festival as the latest historical event.[2] These plates record the grant of a village in the province of Nagpur—Nandivardhana to a Brahman of the Bharadvāja gotra and prove that Kṛishṇa III was residing at Mālkhed, the Rāshṭrakūta capital in A.D. 940. They also show that the province of Vidarbha was an integral part of the empire of Kṛishṇa III.

Kṛiṣhṇa's father Amoghavarsha III ruled for three years, *i.e.*, from A.D. 936 to 939 and since he was an old man at the time of his accession, virtual power was exercised by his ambitious son Kṛishṇa. As Yuvarāja or Crown Prince, Kṛishṇa had given ample proof of his military ability and statesmanship. He had caused to be killed Dantinga and Bappuva, two members of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family who had opposed his succession to the throne. Mr. Rice has invited our attention to the fact that

1. *Sharadasrama Annual*, 1933, p. 6.
2. *EI*, vol. V, p. 188,

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Būtuga, the Ganga king, assisted his relative Kṛishṇa in gaining the throne from an usurper named Lalliya.[3] It is difficult to identify this Lalliya. Perhaps he may have been a prince of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family and a supporter of the former emperor Govinda IV. Būtuga, the Ganga prince, had married Revakanimmadi, the sister of Kṛishṇa III, and was therefore his brother-in-law. Būtuga was rewarded by the emperor for the timely assistance rendered. Kṛishṇa killed the Ganga sovereign Rathyāmalla, 'the poisonous tree', and 'planted in Gangapati, as in a garden, the good tree in the form of Bhutārya[4]'. The name Rathyāmalla is spelt as Rachhyāmalla in the Deoli grant and obviously is a corruption of Rāchamalla.[5] Bhutārya is evidently an attempt to Sanskritise the Kanarese Butayya. Verse 30 of the Kolhapur copper plates relates that several Ganga princes were slain by Kṛishṇa III. But Kṛishṇa was not content with the subjugation of Gangavādi; he proceeded further and conquered Aṇṇiga, the Pallava king. The only Pallavas, ruling at that time, were the Noḷamba-Pallavas of Eastern Mysore and Aṇṇiga must have belonged to this branch. We are further told that 'on hearing of the conquests of the strongholds in the south, the Gurjara king gave up all hopes about Kalinjara and Chitrakūṭa'.[6] This verse indicates that these two fortresses in Central India were in the possession of Kṛishṇa III even before A.D. 940, the date of the grant.

War with the Choḷas

We have already seen how Kṛishṇa had interferred in the politics of Gangapati and established his relative Būtuga on the Ganga throne. Mysore had been lost by the Rāshṭrakūṭas since c. A.D. 815 and its subjugation by Kṛishṇa reflects great credit on him. The Kudlur plates of the Ganga king Mārasiṁha state that Būtuga had married Revakanimmadi, the daughter of Amoghavarsha III.[7] According to the Hebbal inscription, this marriage took place in the reign of Kṛishṇa II, and Dr. Fleet places it in c. A.D. 910[8]. This date appears to be too early and may be safely rejected. The correct date may be about A.D. 930. It no doubt strengthened the hands of the ambitious emperor Kṛishṇa III, and Gangavāḍi was made the base for operations against the Choḷas. In c. A.D. 948 Kṛishṇa marched from Malkhed, his capital. On his way he was joined by the Ganga king Būtuga. We have alrady noted that Kṛishṇa had defeated the Noḷamba chief Aṇṇiga or Aṇṇaya of the Anantapur District, who then consented to become his vassal.

3. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 246.
4. *JBBRAS*, 1934, p. 34.
5. It is possible that Rathyāmalla is a form invented to give a Sanskrit etymology for the genuine Ganga name Rāchamalla.
6. *EI*, vol. V, p. 188 ff.
7. *MASAR*, 1921, p. 22. (Mysore Archaeological Survey Annual Report)
8. *EI*, vol. V, p. 166.

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It was the turn of the Bāṇas next. They were ruling over the modern districts of Chittoor and North Arcot. The Bāṇa contemporary of Kṛishṇa was Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III whose Udayendiram copper-plates have been published by Prof. Kielhorn.[9] Verse 15 of this inscription states that he had Kṛishṇarāja for his dear friend. This Kṛishṇarāja must be identified with the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III. The friendship of the Bāṇa king in the Tamil-speaking country must have been of great value to him. The Choḷa king Parāntaka I decided to resist the invasion, and the Kanyakumāri inscription affirms that he earned the secondary name of Vīra Choḷa by his victory over the invincible Kṛishṇarāja.[10] But this was probably only a local victory and does not seem to have altered the final issue. In the words of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, 'such a defeat was only a spur to greater effort.'[11] Kṛishṇa reorganized his forces and reached Takkolam in the North Arcot District. The decisive battle of the war was fought at this place. The Choḷa armies were led by Yuvarāja Rājāditya. It was a sanguinary battle; and the Rāshṭrakūṭas would have probably lost it, had it not been for the rally made by the Ganga king Būtuga and his trusted servant Manalera. The latter rendered his master great help in the thick of the battle. He suddenly attacked like a lion the elephant of Rājāditya and burst open its forehead. This shows that Rājāditya was forced to come down and could not fight with equal advantage. His adversary Būtuga took this splendid opportunity and springing upon the howdah attacked him. Rājāditya was pierced in his heart by an arrow of Būtuga. The Larger Leiden copper-plates have the following verse referring to the death of Rājāditya:

'That heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race having agitated in battle the unperturbable Kṛishṇarāja along with his army, with his sharp arrows falling in all directions, while seated on the back of an excellent elephant, had his heart split by the thrusts of his sharp arrows and mounting a celestial car went to the world of the heroes praised by the three worlds.'[12]

This fact is confirmed by a literary reference as well. The poet Pushpadaṅta in his Mahāpurāṇa records that in the course of his travels he reached Melpati, where the glorious and charming king Tuḍiga, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa III, was staying after having cut off the head of the Choḷa king. The date given is the cyclic year Siddhārtha, *i.e.*, A.D. 959.[13]

9. *EI*, vol. III, p. 79.
10. *The Cholas*, vol. I, p. 157.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *EI*, vol. XXII, p. 256.
13. *Mahāpurāṇa*, edited by P. L. Vaidya, p. 5 (Text)
" Siddhatthavarisi bhuvaṇāhirāmu
Toḍeppinu Choḍaho taṇau sīsu
Jahiṅ achchhai Tuḍigu mahāṇubhāvu
Mahi paribhamantu Mepaḍiṇayaru."

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As the Atakur inscription is dated Saumya, Śaka 872, *i.e.*, A.D. 949-50, the battle of Takkolam may have taken place in c. A.D. 949. In this inscription we find Būtuga styling himself as Dharma-mahārājādhirāja, and this shows that his prestige was very high in the empire. He was rewarded by Kṛishṇa with the assignment of Banavāsi 12,000, Belvoḷa 300, Purigere 300, Kisukāḍ 70, and Bāgenāḍ 70. The acquisition of all these districts meant a great addition to Būtuga's kingdom. If, as is probable, the revenues of these provinces were transferred together with their administration, Kṛishṇa was acting with short-sighted generosity. Manalera, who had helped Būtuga in the battle, was also rewarded with the grant of the Atakur 12 district, and another village called Kaḍiyur.

The same inscription refers to the triumphal march of Kannaradeva, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa, through the Choḷa country. In the Hirekogilur copper-plates he is said to have conquered the Choḷas, Cheras, Pāṇḍyas and Āḷūpas. We are further told that he was engaged in an expedition to the South (Dakshiṇa-digvijaya.)[14] The date of the inscription corresponds to Tuesday, 16th December, 951. The imperial camp was located at Melpati in the North Arcot District of the Madras Presidency. Melpati seems to have become a capital of Kṛishṇa for at least ten years. The Karjol stone inscription shows that Kannaradeva was ruling at Melpati in Śaka 879, *i.e.*, A.D. 956.[15] The Karhad copper-plates were issued by Kṛishṇa from Melpati in A.D. 959. The Kolhapur copper-plates were also issued from his victorious camp at Melpati in A.D. 960. From these facts it may be inferred that Kṛishṇa possibly did not return to Mālkhed, his old capital at least until A.D. 961.

The Siddhalingamadam inscription from the South Arcot district is certainly a forgery.[16] It is dated in the fifth year of Kṛishṇa's reign, *i.e.*, A.D. 945, and refers to him as the conqueror of Kachhi (*i.e.*, Kāñchī) and Tanjai (Tanjore). Prof. Nilakanta Sastri is the first scholar to prove that this is a spurious inscription. The conquest of Kāñchī and Tanjore could never have taken place before A.D. 949, the date of the battle of Takkolam. He asserts that there are many inscriptions of Parāntaka in the Arcot district until A.D. 948. The campaign against the Choḷas must therefore have been undertaken after the year A.D. 945. The Saltogi pillar inscription is dated the 9th September, 945 and represents Kṛishṇa as staying at his capital Mālkhed.[17] In view of these facts, it is difficult to accept Dr. Altekar's conclusion that

14. *MASAR*, 1935, p. 128.
15. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934, p. 135.
16. *The Cholas*, vol. I, p. 158.
17. *EI*, vol. IV, p. 58.

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Kṛishṇa led a lightning expedition to the south and captured Kāñchī and Tanjore in the year A.D. 943.[18] This date may be safely rejected.

Hence, the date A.D. 950 for the incorporation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire seems to be the most probable one.

The earliest authentic inscription which refers to Kṛishṇa's capture of Kāñchī and Tanjore is the one discovered at Tirukkalukkunram in the Chingleput district.[19] It is dated in the seventeenth regnal year of Kṛishṇa, and styles him 'Kachchiyun-Tanjaiyun-koṇḍa', the conqueror of Kāñchī and Tanjore. The Kudluar copper-plates of Māra-siṁha record that Būtuga burnt Tanjapuri, *i.e.*, Tanjore. Kṛishṇa did not stop with the conquest of Kāñchī and Tanjore. He continued his victorious march right up to Rameshvaram. There he erected a pillar of victory, and built the temple of Gaṇḍa-mārtaṇḍa near Rama's Bridge.[20] A temple of Śiva named Kṛishṇeśvara was also erected near Rama's Bridge. He is also said to have built a temple of Kālapriya, *i.e.*, Śiva, in Kāñchī-maṇḍala.[21]

War with Ceylon.

After the capture of Tanjore, the Choḷa capital, the Choḷa empire fell to pieces. Parantaka I, the Choḷa king, died in A.D. 953, and was succeeded by Gaṇḍarāditya and Arinjaya, his two sons, who had very short reigns. According to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, Gaṇḍarāditya reigned from A.D. 949 to 957 and Arinjaya from A.D. 956 to 957. The question naturally arises why their reigns were so short. It is probable that they may have been executed by Kṛishṇa III, who in his Karhad copper-plates of A.D. 959 claims to have 'uprooted the race of the Choḷas.' The whole of the Choḷa country was absorbed into the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire by Kṛishṇa and divided among his dependents. In the same inscription he is also represented as encamping at Melpati in order to 'create livings out of the provinces in the Southern region' for his dependents. It appears that he deprived the Maṇḍaleśvaras or lords of the provinces in the Choḷa empire of all their property. The Cheras and Pāṇḍyas also paid their homage to Kṛishṇa. The king of Siṁhala or Ceylon recognized his supremacy and sent tribute. According to the Mahāvaṁśa, the Ceylonese chronicle, Mahinda IV was the contemporary of Kṛishṇa, and Vallabha, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa, is said to have sent an

18. *HCIP*, vol. IV, p. 14. (*History and Culture of the Indian People*)

19. *EI*, vol. III, p. 284.

20. Prof. Sathianathaier seems to be sceptical about the march of Kṛishṇa III to Rameshvaram (*HCIP*, vol. IV, p. 155). In view of the combined literary and epigraphic evidence, there is absolutely no reason to doubt the fact of Kṛishṇa's advance to Rameshvaram.

21. *JBBRAS*, 1934, p. 28.

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army to conquer the Ceylonese king. The latter then ordered his general Sena to oppose Kṛishṇa.[22] The Mahāvaṁśa further states that the forces of Vallabha were destroyed, whereupon he and other princes entered into a treaty with the king of Ceylon. This account of the Mahāvaṁśa seems rather exaggerated and one-sided. In all probability the Ceylonese king Mahinda IV was defeated by Kṛishṇa III, and had to acknowledge his suzerainty. This is attested by Somadeva, the author of the Yaśastilaka, who writes that it was composed in Śaka 881 (A.D. 959) while the glorious king Kṛishṇa was reigning at Melpati after having subdued the Pāṇḍya, Siṁhala, Choḷa, Cherama and other kings.[23]

Dr. Sircar refers to a Ceylonese prince by the name of 'Śrī Vallabhamadanarāja who is said to have lived for some time at the court of Kannara, *i.e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III.[24] It is quite probable that some Ceylonese prince may have entered the service of Kṛishṇa during the course of his invasion of Ceylon, and may have resided for some time at Melpati, the capital of Kṛishṇa. Dr. Sircar's suggestion that Śrī-Vallabhamadanarāja is identical with Parākramapāṇḍya does not seem to be feasible, owing to the fact that the latter flourished as late as the middle of the eleventh century A.D. and Kṛishṇa had died in the year A. D. 968.

Relations with the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī.

It is very strange to note that the inscriptions of Kṛishṇa III himself have nothing to say about the part played by him in the politics of the kingdom of Veṅgī. It is only from the records of the Eastern Chālukyas that we are able to obtain some information about their relations with Kṛishṇa III. It is very difficult to get a correct and true account of the happenings at the court of Veṅgī during the times of Kṛishṇa III. Amma II is said to have ascended the throne of Veṅgī in circa A.D. 945 while he was only twelve years old. It is presumed that Kṛishṇa championed the cause of another Chālukya prince Bādapa, son of Yuddhamalla II, and placed him on the throne of Veṅgī after ejecting Amma II. Dr. Altekar would place this event in the year A.D.956 on the basis of an allusion to the invasion of Veṅgī by Kṛishṇa III in the Mangallu copper-plates.[25] However, this inscription clearly says that Amma was banished to Kaliṅga and Kṛishṇa bestowed the crown upon Dānārṇava. So the accession of Bādapa cannot have taken place

22. *Mahāvaṁśa*, Chapter 54 (Wijesinha's Trans.). Codrington, *Ceylon Coins*, p. 50.
23. *Yaśastilaka*, vol. II, p. 419.
24. *HCIP*, vol. IV, p. 172.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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in the year A.D. 956. The Interu grant of Bādapa clearly states that Amma was a mere boy when he was expelled by force by the former.[26] As Amma II was only 12 years old in A.D. 945, this reference must be to the early years of his reign and not to his twelfth regnal year, *i.e.*, A.D. 956. It is quite probable that Kṛishṇa III invaded Veṅgī in the year A.D. 946, and placed Bādapa on the throne. Bādapa died in a few years and was succeeded by his brother Tāla II. Both these brothers probably did not rule for more than six or seven years and were defeated and killed by Amma II in or about A.D. 954. He may have returned to the throne of Veṅgī in the same year. Kṛishṇa III invaded Veṅgī for the second time in A.D. 956, drove away Amma II, and placed his elder step-brother Dānārṇava upon the throne. On the return of Kṛishṇa to his capital Melpati, it seems that the two brothers Amma and Dānārṇava patched up their differences and ruled conjointly up to A.D. 970. On the death of Kṛishṇa in A.D. 968, the two brothers began to quarrel again, and Dānārṇava killed Amma in the year A.D. 970, and became the sole king. Dr. N. Venkatramnayya's view that Kṛishṇa III made a simultaneous attack upon Amma II and Parāntaka I immediately after A.D. 945, does not seem to be correct.[27] How could Kṛishṇa be personally present in the Veṇgī kingdom and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam province at one and the same time? The truth appears to be that Kṛishṇa first disposed of the Veṇgī problem in A.D. 946 and returned from that country to Mānyakheṭa, his capital in the same year. The period of two yars from A.D. 946-948, may have been used by Kṛishṇa in consolidating his resources and making complete preparations for an attack upon the Choḷa empire. He may have invaded the Veṅgī kingdom for the second time in A.D. 956, after the incorporation of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam in the Rāshṭrakūta empire. Most probably the kingdom of Veṇgī acknowledged the suzerainty of Kṛishṇa III right from A.D. 946 onwards till his death and paid him a regular tribute.

Relations with the Vaidumbas

None of the inscriptions of Kṛishṇa have anything to say about his relations with the Vaidumbas. One of the stone inscriptions at Gramam in the South Arcot district mentions a Vaidumba feudatory named Tiruvaiyan Śrīkaṇṭha. The inscription is dated in the 25th year of Kṛishṇa and the Vaidumba feudatory is styled a Mahārāja.[28] Inscription No. 16 of 1905 refers to another Vaidumba prince called Vikramāditya who was governing the districts of Vanakoppāḍi and Siṅgapura.[29] A stone inscription at Kulur in the South Arcot district records a gift

26. Venkatramanayya, *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, p. 185 ff.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
28. *Madras Reports on Epigraphy*, 1906, p. 80.
29. *Ibid.*, 1905, p. 57.

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of 2,304 sheep for 24 lamps by the Vaidumba Mahārāja Tiruvayanar and is dated in the 24th year of Kṛishṇa.[30] All these inscriptions are sufficient to prove that the Vaidumbas had consented to become the tributaries of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa, and together with the Bāṇas, joined hands with him in overthrowing the Choḷa empire at the battle of Takkolam in A.D. 949.

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30. *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 17.

SOMEŚVARADEVA, A KING OF NEPAL

PROF. S. K. SARASWATI

We have a number of sets of *Vaṁśāvalis*, or dynastic chronicles, which seem to preserve, to a certain extent, some genuine tradition with regard to the succession lists of early Nepalese kings. These *Vaṁśāvalis* have, however, been compiled rather late and hence appear to suffer greatly from imperfect or confused knowledge of facts. Different t aditions also seem to have been current at the time when these chronicles were first put on record, and conflicting statements are often found in the different sets. The early history of Nepal has been reconstructed chiefly with the help of these *Vaṁśa* lists after a careful and critical analysis of their contents and their verification with epigraphic data and relevant materials cited often in manuscript-colophons. Along with the various particulars of copying, the colophons in manuscripts are frequently found to record dates and also the names of the reigning kings. As such the manuscript citations, though brief, are invaluable as contemporary data, not only as supplying new and important facts of history, but also as serving as checks on the evidence furnished by the inscriptions, the statements of which are not infrequently coloured by a certain amount of partisan spirit, and in the *Vaṁśāvalis* the chronicles are often confused. The manuscript-citations are particularly valuable with regard to dates, and the chronology of the early kings of Nepal, it is not an exaggeration to say, has been built up mainly on the basis of such citations.

In the *Vaṁśāvalis* referene is made to a king of Nepal of the name of Someśvaradeva whose chronological position has been hitherto unknown on account of the paucity of any definite data. From one of the *Vaṁśāvalis*, utilised by Cecil Bendall, he is known to have been a son of Mahendradeva who as *Jaurāja* (*Yuvarāja* = heir-apparent) is recorded to have excavated a tank, called Mahendra-saras, in N. S. 239/A.D. 1119.[1] Bendall identifies this Mahendradeva with king Indradeva of an India Office manuscript (No. 2928) copied in N. S. 249/A.D. 1129.[2] In the *Vaṁśāvali*, utilised by Kirkpatrick, Someśvaradeva is

1. H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Palmleaf and selected Paper manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal*, vol. I. p. 7.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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assigned a reign of 6 years and 3 months. But as no manuscript of his reign had been found before, some uncertainty prevailed among scholars with regard to the chronological position of Someśvaradeva in the dynastic list of Nepal kings. In one of Bendall's *Vaṁśāvalis* Someśvaradeva is said to have been born in N. S. 240/A. D. 1120, and Bendall hesitatingly interprets the passage in the same *Vaṁśāvali, rājā asta vasha* 53, to mean that after having reigned he died in (240 plus 53) N. S. 293/A.D. 1173.[3] But this interpretation is in conflict with known facts, and the reign of Someśvaradeva cannot be placed before N. S. 296/A.D. 1176 which is the last recorded date of his uncle Amṛitadeva.

In the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. V, p. 46, D. C. Ganguly places Someśvaradeva after Ratnadeva, whose known dates are N. S. 303/A.D. 1183 and N. S. 304/A.D. 1184. Apparently Ganguly has based his section on the history of Nepal on the chart appended to Bendall's Historical Introduction to H. P. Sastri's *Catalogue of Palm leaf and selected Paper manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal*, vol. I. Ganguly, however, has missed that Ratnadeva is known only from citations in manuscripts in which he is invariably called a *mahāsāmanta*,[4] that is, a feudatory chief. He is hence to be omitted from dynastic list of the kings of Nepal. Ganguly also failed to notice the hesitating observation of Bendall, given in a footnote, with regard to the date of death of Someśvaradeva.

In 1956 the present author was in Nepal as the Leader of the Survey of manuscripts in the Libraries of Nepal under a scheme, jointly sponsored by the Asiatic Society and the Government of India. In course of the Survey he was fortunate to discover three dated manuscripts of the reign of Someśvaradeva in the Library of Field Marshal Sir Kaiser Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana. In the same collection there is also a fragmentary copy of a *Vaṁśāvali* giving the date of the consecration of Someśvaradeva as king. The data supplied by these enable us now to fix the chronological position of Someśvaradeva beyond any doubt. All the three manuscripts are on plam leaf, while the *Vaṁśāvali* copy is on paper. The script in each case is Newari. The first is a manuscript of *Prāyaśchittopadeśa* which was copied in N.S. 299/A.D. 1179 during the reign of Someśvaradeva. The colophon[5] recording this information reads as follows : *Śaṁvatsare navādhika-navati-śatadvaye māse mārgaśire śukla-shashṭhame rājādhirāja-parameśvara-Raghukulatilaka-śrī-Someśvara devasya vijayarājye likhitamidaṁ.....*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 25n.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

5. The colophons are extracted exactly as found in the manuscripts, without any emendation. In spite of grammatical and orthographical mistakes, the sense in each instance is clear.

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The second and the third manuscripts were copied in N.S. 300/A.D. 1180 and referred also to the reign of Someśvaradeva. The second is a copy of *Bodhicharyāvatāra* in which may be seen the following colophon:

Saṁvat 300 *prathamāshāḍha-śuklashashṭhamyāṁ bṛihaspati-dine rājā-śrī-Someśvaradevasya vijayarājye likhitamidaṁ pustakaṁ.*

The third is a copy of *Mahāmanthāna Bhairava tantra* with the following colophon :

Saṁvat 300 *phālguna-sakla-pūrṇimāyāṁ* [*mahā*] *rāja-śrī-Someśvara devasya vijayarāje.....*

The above three manuscripts leave no doubt that Someśvaradeva had been reigning in N.S. 299/A.D. 1179 and N.S./ 300/A.D. 1180. The fragmentary copy of the *Vaṁśāvali* in this collection has the following intersting statement in corrupt Sanskrit : *Saṁvat* 299 *kārtika-kṛishṇa-shashṭhī śukravāra rā* [*ja-śrī*] *Someśvaradeva puṇyābhisheka kṛitavān*, which may be taken to mean that Someśvaradeva was anointed as king in N.S. 299/A.D. 1179, in the month of Kārtika (October-November), on a friday, the sixth day of the dark fortnight. The first manuscript is thus known to have belonged to the first year of his reign. The *Vaṁśāvali* also recorded the duration of the reign of Someśvara, but the figure for the year is now missing and that for the month is 3. Perhaps the missing figure for the year was 6, as recorded by Kirkpatrick. If this restoration is correct, Someśvaradeva reigned for 6 year and 3 months. His reign begain in N.S. 299/A.D. 1179, as we come to know from the present *Vaṁśāvali*, and ended sometime in N.S. 305/A.D. 1185, and the evidence of the three manuscripts, cited above, is found to be in complete agreement. In the light of the above data, which are clear and unequivocal, it is not possible to accept Bendall's suggestion, hesitatingly made, that Someśvaradeva died in N.S. 293/A.D. 1173. He survived that date and began to reign from N. S. 299/A.D. 1179. Ganguly is also wrong in placing him after Ratnadeva. Rather, Ratnadeva,who is mentioned as a *mahāsāmanta* in N.S. 303/A.D. 1183 and N. S. 304/A.D. 1184, seems to have been a feudatory chief under Someśvaradeva.

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DĀMODARAGUPTA'S KUṬṬANĪMATA : ITS VALUE AS A SOURCE OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray

Dāmodaragupta is not an author of unknown date. He has been referred to in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as Chief Minister (*dhīsachiva*) of Jayāpīḍa, a king of Kashmir. There is some dispute over the date of Jayāpīḍa. While the chronology adopted by Kalhaṇa puts him between the years A.D. 751 and 782, Chinese evidence bearing on the history of the then contemporary Kashmir places the dates of his accession 25 years later. Anyhow, sometime during the latter half of the 8th Century or in the early years of the next, this littérateur-minister was flourishing.

About his other literary works, we have no clear idea. The *Kuṭṭanīmatam* has been mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and has been quoted widely in a large number of Sanskrit works, mostly anthologies or works of reference or rhetoric like *Subhāshitāvalī*, *Śārangadhārapaddhati Kavīndravachana-samuchchaya*, *Sūktimuktāvalī*, *Kāvyaprakāśa*, *Mankha-koshaṭikā*, etc. Its essential nature, a didactic work on erotics, appears to have been neither unknown to those who quote his verses nor to Kalhaṇa, and Dāmodaragupta himself cleary speaks at the end of his work, 'One who goes through this work and acts according to the advice given, is never cheated by a bawd, prostitute, and similar cunning people.'

Though essentially a work on erotics, the author of *Kuṭṭanīmatam* in order to bring out his moral vividly to the reader's mind, introduces stories on droll life which are astonishingly real. Incidentally many things are told, a careful scrutiny of which throws very interesting light on the life and society of Kashmir, contemporary to the poet.

On such items of social interest as education of men and women, there is useful information. The syllabus of study for a public-woman includes the sexual sciences of Vātsyāyana, Dattaka, Viṭaputra Rājaputra, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, Viśākhila's treatise on art,

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Dantila's work on music, *vṛkshāyurveda*, painting, needlework, woodwork, metal work, clay modelling, cookery, and practical training in instrumental music, singing and dancing (verses 123-25). Some of the items of studies are probably meant for other women as well. The curriculum of studies for a man is not much different. It consists of a practical knowledge in the use of arms and armoury, studies of *śāstras*, meaning probably text-books on different branches of learning, painting, wax modelling, woodcut, dancing, singing, playing of *vīṇā*, *mṛdaṅga*, etc. (verses 234-37). Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* is an approved text for study (verses 75-77) even for a male person.

The dress of a fashionable well-to-do gentleman as well as of his attendant is vividly described. The former has his hair as long as five fingers, the end forming a tussle. A long-handed saw-like comb with rows of white teeth is attached to it. He has rings in his fingers, fine gold-thread attached to his neck, powder of *Kuṇikuma* besmeared all over his body, garland of flower stitched in gold hanging from his neck and shoe at his feet which has *jari* inlet work over it and soles made of steel. His long hair is decorated with different colours of tassels attached to it. On his ear he has got earrings. He wears bright clothes with golden border (verses 62-66).

The attendant has a necklace made of cheap glass beads. His nails are painted with colours made from flower dust. Conch shell bangles decorate his hand. (verse 67).

Women dress themselves in a way not much different from that of to-day. There are references to ornaments of which one—*valaya-kalāpī*—appears to be an armlet. *Chīnāṁśuka* is mentioned as an object of luxury. Clothes coloured with saffron are worn on ceremonial occasions (verses 343-44, 346). But the gold and the glitter are exclusively confined among the richer sections. The poor man has on his body worn out rags sewn together with thick threads, stick in his hand with palm-leaf stuck to its end, torn out shoes and leather oil-container and water pot made from melon attached to his belt (406-408).

The dress of a prince of Devarāshṭra (mod. Mahārāshṭra) is quite interesting. He has a piece of cloth which binds together the hair covering three-fourths part of the head, a little toilet over body, the portion of hair near the ears besmeared with saffron paste, radiated mark on the forehead prepared from white mustard, plenty of betels in his mouth, necklace depicting two birds facing each other, golden amulet sealed with lac in his arm, bracelet made of coral and gold beads running alternately, cane stick with a handle attached, dagger and sword tied with the waist, legs covered with bandages made of fine cloth and shoe which makes a lot of sound when he walks (737-742).

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Of amusements, theatrical performance finds an important place. Luxurious theatre halls, fitted with leathered cushioned couches receive patronage of the *śreshṭhis* and *vanikas* (verse 68). The *Ratnāvalī* of Śrī Harsha is a popular drama of the period (verses 801 ff). From *Dāmodaragupta's* description it appears that the male parts of the drama, such as those of Vatsarāja or his *vidushaka* are being acted by women. Is it the general practice of the time or an exceptional instance at Vārānasī where the play actually takes place, is difficult to say. Of other amusements, the *Kandukakrīḍā* is popular (verse 362). Hunting is popular among princely class. The hunter rides on horse and takes with him hunting dogs for following the object of hunt. Bidders drive away the animals in front of the huntsmen and the animal is usually slain with arrow. Of the objects of game, deer, boar, and hare are mentioned (verses 950-957) and not the jackal, to which Kalhaṇa often alludes

The names of some of the officers of the state and their functions, incidentally referred to, are important from the point of administrative history. One of these is *Saulkikādhyaksha* (verse 531). This office is also mentioned in Kshemendra's *Samayamātṛika* and in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. (*Samaya*, II, 102 ; *RT*, VII, 2010). He is posted on the frontier routes and collects customs duties over commodities coming and going through the watch stations. Dāmodaragupta sarcastically remarks that this officer earns without intermission not caring for the king's displeasure and thus can afford to be a person famed for charity. This speaks of dishonesty among the officials of Kashmir, also testified to by Kshemendra and Kalhaṇa.

Another officer is *nagaraprabhu* (verse 401) who collects taxes from the prostitutes for royal treasury. In the 12th century A.D. fines are being imposed by this officer on the house-holders in case of immoral conduct on the part of a married woman (*RT*., VIII, 3336). He is, thus, something like a censor of morals.

A certain gentleman named Siṃharāja supplies to his favourite prostitute Manmathasenā endless produces of villages (*grāmotpatti-raśeshā*). He seems to be a village official, probably holding the same position as that of a *grāmakāyastha* or *grāmadivira* of Kalhaṇa and Kshemendra.

Another gentleman named Rāṁasenā is a *haṭṭapati* (verse 540). His designation sounds like that of a state official. He collects taxes from commodities sold in the market, only one-fourth of which he has to pay to the king. He is thus not being paid from the royal treasury and as such it is difficult to say whether he is really an employee of the State. Gift of land originally accruing from the king or prince gives

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the receiver the position of a landlord, when he leases the same among a number of tenants. The landlord then becomes a *ṭhakkura* (verse 931). *Ṭhakkura* is an appellation for the zamindars in some of the states of India even at the present day.

The *Kuṭṭanimatam* is not lacking in information on economic life. The common medium of exchange in Dāmodaragupta's time is cowrie shell (varāṭaka) (verse 634). Cowrie shell seems to have been used as money in ancient and mediaeval Kashmir. This is testified to not only by Kshemendra, Kalhaṇa and Jonarāja but from actual provenance of coins with cowrie shells. (*Kalāvilāsa*, II, 5, 7 ; *Samayamātṛkā*, VIII, 80 ; *RT*, VII, 112 ; *Jonar*, 588 ; *An.Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14, pp. 50-51). But in addition to cowrie shell, there is regular minted metallic currency in Karkoṭa Kashmir of which Dāmodaragupta is not unware and he comes with a very useful and important information that this coin is called *Kedāra* (verse 606). By *Kedāra* the author no doubt means 'Kidāra coins' named after the Kidāra Kushāṇas. In the whole of ancient Indian literature, probably this is the only solitary reference about the Kidāra Kushāṇa coins. The real Kidāra Kushāṇa coins however do not seem to have been current in the valley of Kashmir at a time when the *Kuṭṭanimatam* was written, and Dāmodaragupta, by the term *Kedāra*, evidently refers to the electrum coins of the Karkoṭa Kings which in addition to the name or title of the striker-king contain the legend 'Kidāra' showing therefore the origin of the coin from that of theKidāra Kushāṇas. (V.Smith, *IMC*, vol. I, pp. 268-69; S. C. Ray, *Copper Coins of the Karkota Kings of Kashmir*, *JNSI.*, vol. XIV, 1953, pp. 122-24.).

Some interesting information on various aspects of day-to-day life also can be gleaned from this work. The food of the people among other things consists of cooked rice made from *śāli dhānya* and such specific grams as *Kulattha*, *chana* and *masura* (verse 229). People worship Bhagavatī who is none other than goddess śakti (verse 612). Worship of Śiva also is very popular (v. 751). Of the cities of India situated outside the valley, Vārānasī and Pāṭaliputra find prominent mention and life in both the cities is vividly described (verses 2-17, 176-192). The system of devadāsī as well as Satī exist (verses 490-492, 561-562, 743).

On the whole, Dāmodaragupta depicts a society dominated by mercantile community where the wealth is accumulated in the hands of a few privileged, consisting of *rājputras*, *śreshṭhis* and *vanikas*. The high life centres round them and is confined to them only. The royal authority does not assert itself very much and even petty officers in the state service can afford to indulge in malpractices, without caring much for what may come from the top. There is a strong attraction for wealth

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and attachment to the luxuries of material life. Prostitution is tolerated in society not merely as a necessary evil, but appears to receive plenty of patronage. The high life lived by the wealthy mercantile and princely class no doubt produces fine things in dress and ornaments, games and amusements, food and drink, and perhaps in arts and crafts which make living enjoyable. But that is all that this life has and that too confined to a minority group at the top. If one looks for contributions made by the society depicted in Dāmodaragupta's work in the sphere of intellectual speculation to humanity at large, he is likely to be disappointed.

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SOME ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS OF EARLY SOUTH INDIAN ART

SHRI M. RADHAKRISHNA SARMA

SECTION A

The Gable

The Gable, mostly of the horse-shoe pattern, figures not only in South Indian architecture but also in standard texts on *vāstu* or architecture. It is described in the texts as *nētra* or eye.[1]

A careful study of early South Indian monuments shows that the gable was a favourite and popular architectural design. The architects of the Sātavāhana, Pallava and Chālukyan periods made use of it profusely. The gable seems to have been employed for two purposes: firstly, when placed surmounting a door-way it admitted light and air, secondly, in other places it was used as a mere piece of decoration. Throughout the period the gable figures served both the purposes.

The artists of early South India were greatly aware of the danger of architectural monotony and to avoid it they effected, from time to time, changes in the external form and decoration of the Gable. A minute examination of the external form of Gables on the monuments gives us as many as thirteen varieties :—

(*i*) Gable with just an angular projection above.[2]

(*ii*) Gable with the angular projection slightly rounded at the top.[3]

1. *Mānasāra*, Ch XXXIV, p. 396.

2. Burgess, *The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta*, Plate XXXVIII, No. 4.
Ibid., Plate XLV, No. 2.
Kārla—On the wall right side to the entrance and over the main entrance to the Chaitya-Hall.
Junnar—On the Façade of the Tuljā-lena cave.
Jaggayyapēta—Façade of the Puṇyaśālā.
Kondana—On the back wall of the Vihāra and on the right side of the verandah wall of the Chaitya-Hall.

3. Nāsik—Above the entrance to the Chaitya-Hall and on either side of the big gable.
Amarāvati—Two-storeyed building.
Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part I, Plate VIIIa.

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(*iii*) Gable with the angular top flattened .[4]

(*iv*) Gable with a top resembling a spade-head.[5]

(*v*) Gable with a top resembling a spade-head, with small elevations on either side of the base.[6]

(*vi*) Gable with a top approaching the *Makara-mukha*.[7]

(*vii*) Gable converted into a big *Makara-mukha*.[8]

(*viii*) Gable without an angle at the top.[9]

(*ix*) Plain gable cut into ascending arches.[10]

(*x*) Gable as above with decoration.[11]

(*xi*) Gable with *Makara-mukha* on the top and with decoration.[12]

(*xii*) Gable with ascending arches with *Makara-mukha* at the top.[13]

(*xiii*) Gable with ascending arches with *Makara-mukha* at the top with a string of beads running from the *Makara-mukha* on to the *makuta* of the deities sculptured below.[14]

In Chālukyan architecture the gable suggested a thousand forms to the architect and gradually the simple and plain gable merges into thousand grand and ornamental forms.

Artistic variety was achieved not merely in the external form and decoration of the Gable but also in numerous additions made to it.

4. Burgess, Plate XLII, No. 7 Amaravati.
Bedsa—Right side of the verandah of the Chaitya-Hall.
Amarāvati—Vṛiksha Chaitya.
Longhurst, Part II, Plate VIa.

5. Burgess, Plate XLIV, No. 5 Amarāvati.
Longhurst, Part I, Plate XIII, Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7.
Ibid., Part II, VIb, VIIa.

6. Chēzerla—Miniature monoliths.
Nāgārjunakonḍa—First Sermon—At the top of the pillars of the border frame.
Longhurst, Part I, Plate XIII, No. 1, 3, 5, 7.

7. Burgess, Plate XLIX, No. 7.
Longhurst, Part I, Plates Ia; IIb; VIIIb; XVa; XVIIIa; XVIIIb XXa; XXb.

8. Cousens, Plate CXIII.

9. Longhurst, Part II, Plate, XIIa.

10. Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, Plate X.

11. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVI.

12. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIV; CXIV.

13. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXV.

14. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVIII.

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Thus on the basis of the additions within, the Gables may again be classified into different types.

(*i*) The empty Gable.[15]

(*ii*) Gable with a head inside.[16]

(*iii*) Gable with *Makara-mukha* above and two or three heads within.[17]

(*iv*) Gable with a block inside.[18]

(*v*) Gable with other figures as that of a Yōgi in penance.[19]

(*vi*) Gable with some part of the temple or deity pictured in it.[20]

(*vii*) Gable with inner rings and a head in the centre.[21]

(*viii*) Gable with mere ornamental design inside.[22]

With the variation and combination of the outer and inner designs of the Gable, the architects of early South India achieved marvellous variety out of a simple design.

In the hands of the early South Indian architects the Gable suited and decorated any part of the temple. As mentioned earlier, the Gable, when put above a doorway, admitted light and air. It was a mere piece of decoration otherwise. The other places where the Gable appears are :

(*i*) As decoration on the cornice or façade.[23]

(*ii*) Over the pillars.[24]

15. Longhurst, Part I, Pl. VIIIa.
Ibid., Part II, Pl. VIb ; Xb ; XIa ; XIb ; XIIa ; XIIb ; XIVb ; XVIIb.

16. Longhurst., Part I, Pl. Ia ; IIb ; XVa ; XVIIa ; XVIIIa ; XVIIIb ; XXa ; XXb.
Ibid., Part II, Pl. VIa ; VIb ; VIIa ; Xb ; XIa ; XIb ; XIIa ; XIIb ; XIVa ; XIVb ; XVIIb.

17. *Ibid.*, Part I, Pl. VIIIb.

18. *Ibid.*, Part II ; Pl. VIIa ; Xb ; XIa ; XIb ; XIIa ; XIIb ; XIVa ; XIVb ; XVIIa ; XVIIb.

19. Cousens, Pl. XXIX.

20. Longhurst, Part I, Pl. XIII, 1, 3, 5, 7.
Cousens, Pl. XVI, XXXVIII.

21. *Ibid.*, Pl. XX, Left picture.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Longhurst, Part I, Pl. Ia ; IIb ; VIIIa ; VIIIb ; XIVa.
Ibid., Part II, Pl. Id ; VIa ; VIb ; XIIa ; XVIIb ; XIVa ; XIVb ; XVIIa ; XVIIb ; XIX ; XXVIIa.
Cousens, Pl. V top ; XII ; XXIX ; XXXVII ; XXXVIII ; XLII ; L; LVII ; LVIII.

24. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa : First Sermon.
Amarāvati.
Jaggayyapēta.
Longhurst, Part I, Pl. XIV ; XVa ; XVII ; XVIIIa ; XVIIIb ; XXa ; XXb
Ibid., Part II ; Pl. Xb ; XIa ; XIb ; XIIa ; XIIb ; XIVa ; XIVb ; XIX.

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(*iii*) On the top band of the base.[25]

(*iv*) On the Vimāna.[26]

(*v*) On the Architraves over the door-way.[27]

(*vi*) Above sculptures on walls.[28]

(*vii*) On the wall.[29]

(*viii*) On the Temple Roof.[30]

(*ix*) As a part of a piece of sculpture.[31]

The architectural wizards of early South India filled these parts of the temple with a variety of Gables. These parts which would have been otherwise bare and barren are now rich, a feast to the eyes of a layman and a mine for the student of art.

SECTION B

Karṇakūṭa, Pañjara and Śāla

These are three important architectural members which also figure very prominently in early South Indian Architecture. They are used, in most cases, to decorate the edge of the roof of a temple and the base of its vimāna ; but in a few instances they are found all over the vimāna.

The Karṇakūṭa is a narrow structure supported by two pillars with a cornice and a stūpī. The Pañjara is narrower and shorter. It has a narrower neck over the cornice and a gable-like crowning member.

25. Cousens, Pl. X ; XII ; XXIX ; L ; CXXIII.

26. Longhurst, Part I, Pl. XIII, 1, 3, 5, 7.
Ibid., Part II, Pl. Xb ; XIa ; XIb ; XIIa ; XIIb ; XIVa ; XIVb ; XVIIa ; XVIIb.
Cousens, Pl. IX ; XII ; XIV ; XIX ; XXII ; XXIII ; XXVI ; XXIX ; XXXVII ; XLII ; L ; LII ; LVII.

27. Entrance to the Nāsik Chaitya Hall.
Kārlā
Kanhēri
Longhurst, Part I, Pl. IId.
Ibid., Part II, XXVIa.
Cousens, Pl. XVI ; XX ; XLI ; LIV ; LXV.

28. Longhurst, Part II, Pl. XXVa.

29. Cousens, Pl. XLII ; LVIII.

30. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXI.

31. *Ibid.*, Pl. CXXIV.

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The Śālā is wider and has a stūpī resembling a gable-vaulted roof. These three members occur in various combinations in early South Indian Art.

A careful examination of the sculptures of the Sātavāhana period indicates that two of these three architectural members had their prototypes in the Buddhist period. There are two sculptures, one at Amarāvati and one at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, which depict the descent of the Bōdhisatva. In both cases the vehicle in which the Bōdhisatva, in the shape of an elephant, is carried has a barrel vaulted roof which resembles the Śālā very closely.[32] Then there is a sculpture from Amarāvati[33] which depicts a shrine for the *Triratna* symbol. This shrine has its first storey covered by a vaulted roof which also resembles the Śālā. Numerous sculptures from Amarāvati contain buildings with a vaulted roof.[34] One of these buildings has finials over it.[35] Then there is the sculpture of the Puṇyaśālā from Jaggayyapēṭa which has a barrel-vaulted roof surmounted by finials.[36] Several brick Chaitya grihas found in the Buddhist *tīrthas* of Āndhradēśa were apsidal structures with barrel vaulted roofs. Many of them had finials on the roof.[37] There is a ruined stūpa in one of the caves at Kondvite. On the face of this stūpa is a moulding consisting of a sitting Buddha figure with a pillar on either side. The tops of these pillars are covered by a pavillian containing two pillars supporting a triple top surmounted by a stūpī. This is an exact copy of the Karṇakūṭa.[38] Then there is a sculpture of a building from Amarāvati which contains on the right corner of the second floor a member which has a broad base surmounted by a vaulted roof with a finial alone. This too resembles the Karṇakūṭa.[39]

It is evident from this that the Śālā was derived from buildings of that shape existing in the Sātavāhana period and the Karṇakūṭa from the architectural sculpture of the same period.

These three architectural members—Karṇakūṭa, Pañjara and Śālā, figure prominently in the architecture, both cave and structural,

32. Burgess, Pl. XI-i.
Longhurst, *Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, Pl.
33. Burgess., Pl. XXXVIII.
34. Burgess, Pl. XX ; XXVII-1 ; XXVIII-3 ; XXVI-2.
35. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI-2.
36. *Ibid.*, Pl. LV.
37. *Buddha Jayanti Souvenir.* Edited by Dr. M. Rama Rao.
38. Photo—negative 3078/1907-1908.
39. C. S. Sivaramamurthi, *Amarāvati sculptures.*

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of the Pallavas and Chālukyas in the post Sātavāhana period. The Karṇakūṭa and the Śālā fall generally into six categories:

1. Plain.
2. With a gable-window on the stūpī.
3. With finials over the stūpī.
4. With both gable and finials.
5. With finials and a gable with an object inside it.

Pallava and Chālukyan monuments contain these members in different combinantions.

These three architectural members seem to have been used in three places—firstly, on the cornice of cave munuments, secondly, on the roof of temples on all sides of the vimāna and thirdly, on the vimāna itself.

Regarding Pallava architecture the famous four-storeyed cave of Uṇḍavalli and numerous monoliths found in the courtyard of the Kapōtēśvara temple at Chēzerla, in the Guntur District, may be considered the starting point. On the top of the above cave are to be found a number of Karṇakūṭas in a row—some of them plain, some with a gable on the stūpī and others with an object inside the gable.[40] The miniature monoliths in the Chēzerla temple depict the Karṇakūṭa of the plain variety and also with a gable on the face.

In other Pallava monuments these members are used in seven diffeent ways.

1. Śālā with gable only. This is to be found above the façade of the second storey of the Uṇḍavalli cave.[41]
2. Pañjara and Śālā only. On the façade of temple No. 17 we see a row of Pañjara and Śālā alternative.[42]
3. Śālā with gable and finials and Śālā with finials and two gables. The Temple No. 3 the cave façade has a row of śālās in the following order: Śālā with finials and one gable, Śālā with finials and two gables alternate.[43]
4. Karṇakūṭa with gable and finial and śālā with gable and finials. This variety is found on the cave façade of Temple No. 4.[44]

40. Longhurst, Part I, Pl. XIII.
41. *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV—See also Part II, Pl. Xb; XI.
42. *Ibid.*, Part II, Pl. I.
43. *Ibid.*, Pl. VIa.
44. *Ibid.*, Pl. VIb.

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5. Śālā with gable and Pañjara with gable. Cave façade of Temple No. 3 has śālā with simple gable and two Pañjaras with gable alternate.[45]

6. Śālā with gable and Karṇakūṭa with gable. This combination is present all over the vimāna of *Dharmarājaratha*, Mahābalipuram.[46]

7. Śālā with gable and two Pañjaras with gable. On the *Valaiyankuṭṭai*-Ratha this variety is found in the first row of the vimāna.[47]

It is interesting to note that the Chālukyan architects pitched upon quite a different set of combinations of these architectural members—These are :

1. Śālā, Pañjara and Karṇakūṭa in a row with no gable. On the base of the vimāna on the Kont-gudi, Aihole, this variety figures.[48]

2. Śālā and Karṇakūṭa with no gable. Aihole Jaina temple No 39 has these.[49]

3. Śālā and Pañjara only wtith gable having vimāna inside. On the roof mouldings of Virūpāksha, Paṭṭadakal, this can be seen.[50]

4. Śālā with gable having finial and with object inside. In the same Mallikārjuna temple this is present.[51]

5. Karṇakūṭa cut into vimāna and śālā into arch. The temple of Kāśiviśvēśvara, Lakkùndi, contains examples of these on its main shrine.[52]

6. On the walls of the temple of Siddhēśvara, Haveri, we find Śālā, Pañjara, Karṇakūṭa. The Śālā has on its cornice two gables with *Makara-mukha* above and scroll work on sides ; Pañjara and Karṇakūṭa have one gable of this type. These three members become almost unrecognisable.[53] On the shrine walls of the temple of Mahādēva, Ittagi, Karṇakūṭa, Pañjara and Śālā are there at the bottom of the vimāna but

45. *Ibid.*, Pl. VIIa—See also Pl. XII.
46. *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV—See also Pl. XVIIb.
47. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII—See also Pl. XIXa.
48. Cousens, Pl. V.
49. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII.
50. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXV—See also LXXIII.
53. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXVII.

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completely changed. The lower parts of these members are full of sculptures and scroll work. The top has a square containing *Makara-mukha*, bead-decoration below it and a circular lotus below it. This replaces the gable.[54]

Thus as in the case of the Gable, the simple and plain Karṇakūṭa, Pañjara and Śālā fade and finally vanish into a myriad rich and glorious designs on later structures.

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54. *Ibid.*, Pl. C1.

VALABALABHI VYĀGHRATATI AND NIDRAVALI

(*Summary*)

DR. H. VEDANTASASTRI

In his compaign against Bhīma, Ramapāla enlisted the support of Vikramarāja of Valabalabhi and Vijayarāja of Nidravali. Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, whose family settled at Siddhala, in Rādha, has been called Valabalabhibhujanga. Thus Valabalabhi was in the Rādha division of Bengal. The word Valabhi stands for a place and the word Vala implies that it was the junior Valabhi. This presupposes the existence of a senior Valabhi and actually we find its existence in the Virddha Valabhi (in Gauda) in a manuscript of a work, *Sarvadevapratiṣṭha paddhati* by Trivikrama Suri. The *Rāma Charitta* of Sandhyakaravandi speaks of a village Devagram in Valavalabhi, and on the authority of Beams Dr. R. C. Mazumdar has correctly identified Valavalabhi with Bibli, mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and Devagram with Deolgram, located therein. Bibli is modern Pipli the site of an English factory in Bengal. It is in the district of Midnapur, bordering on Balasor.

Bagdi has been identified and very rightly by Dr. S. N. Mazumdar with Vyāghratati, which was in ancient days, a maṇḍala, and the name of which is found in three grants, the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, the Nālandā grant of Devapāla and the Anunia grant.

Kalyāṇa Varma, the author of *Saravati*, an excellent work on astrology, has been described as the ruler of Vyāghratati with Devagram as its capital. This Devagram is identical with the aforesaid Devagram in the Nadia district, where ruled the Varmans, who professed Vaiśṇavism during the reign of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. Kalyāṇa Varma is very likely a scion of this royal house. The Bhagīrathi flows past the village Manikdihi, eight miles direct west of Devagram, and the descendants of the celebrated Mādhavendra Puri, the accredited founder of Bengal Vaiśṇavism, lived here. This village was the western extremity of the Varman Kingdom and beyond the Bhagīrathi lies the Rādha division.

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Five miles to the south-west of Manikdihi stands Sitahati-Naihati, the site of the copper-plate grant of Vallala Sena; on the western bank of the Bhagīrathi and a little to the west is Vallutia, the Valahitta of the said grant. On the basis of this grant as well as on the assumption that the Vijayarāja of Nidravali is identical with Vijaya Sena, the husband of Queen Vilāsa Devi of the aforesaid grant, I identified in a paper submitted to the Indian History Congress of 1948, Nidravali with modern Nirole (or Nidole), a few miles west of Sitahati-Naihati, and this identification is certainly sound from philological point of view.

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HOW AŚOKA'S ROYAL TITLE DEVĀNĀMPRIYA ACQUIRED THE MEANING OF 'A FOOL'?

(*Summary*)

DR. A. C. SEN

Aśoka must have become unpopular with many of his subjects and subordinates on account of his patronage of Buddhism, prohibition of animal sacrifices and disparagement of rites and ceremonies. This must have antagonised particularly the Brahmanas. But many Buddhists also were probably displeased with him for the strong measures he took against them in suppressing schism in the Buddhist Order. The common people must have been vexed by his prohibitions against *samaja* festive gatherings, killing of animals on certain days etc. The politicians and military leaders probably did not approve of his pacific policy and frowned upon the appointment of special officers for the propagation of Dharma. Aśoka's close supervision of the officials and his admonitions to them were probably disliked, and the Council of Ministers was often not in favour of his measures, while novelties like engraving of moral instructions on rocks and pillars, announcing them in public proclamations, the king assuming the role of a religious teacher etc. may have been regarded with amusement by many. It is thus probable that Aśoka's commonest title Devānāmpriya became a disparaging sobriquet.

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SECTION II

MEDIEVAL INDIA

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

PROF. MOHIBBULL HASAN

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am doubly grateful to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress. First, for conferring upon me the honour of electing me as its Sectional President; and secondly, for giving me an opportunity to present in a connected and coherent form ideas upon which my mind has been running for some time past. However, I feel it presumptuous before such a distinguished and learned audience as this to give expression to views which may involve the criticism of our historical writing on medieval India.

The study of medieval Indian history, initiated over a century ago by British scholars, reached its heydey roughly in between the two World Wars when a large number of works were published on different aspects of medieval India. And although some of them were superficial and there was too much emphasis laid on unimportant aspects, while important fields of study were neglected, yet on the whole there was a great seriousness of purpose, and an honest endeavour to study the past and maintain a high standard of research. At first interest was confined, for the most part, to the activities of kings, and this led to the production of biographies of Mahmūd of Ghazna, Muhammad Tughlaq, Sher Shah, Shivaji and the Great Mughals, but gradually it began to be realised that a history which offers only a catalogue of rebellions, wars and conquests, divorced from the social and economic life of the people, was not only dead stuff but also incomplete history. Attempts, therefore, began to be made to throw light on fields, hitherto unexplored. Tara Chand broke new ground by bringing out his *Influence of Islam on Indian Cultuae*, and W. H. Moreland made valuable contributions to the agrarian system of medieval India. Similarly, K. M. Ashraf in his *Social Condition of the People of Hindustan* made an attempt to describe the manners and customs, dress and diet, religious beliefs and practices of the people of northern India during the Sultanate period. In addition to these a number of excellent studies of institutions were made by R. P. Tripathi, Ibn Hasan, N. N. Law, Abdul Aziz, P. Saran and I. H. Qureshi.

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However, ever since 1939 there has been a kind of slump in our historical writing on medieval India. Though there has not been much of a quantitative decline, there has definitely been a deterioration in the quality of research. This is due to a number of causes. In the first place, during the war period, apart from other considerations, research was hampered on account of the non-availability of original materials. After the war was over and people had time to settle down, there came the holocaust of Partition. This had a very disturbing effect on scholars. Another cause to which reference has repeatedly been made by my predecessors, is the lack of sufficient knowledge of Persian on the part of our research scholars and their failure to utilise vernacular sources which are very useful for social and religious history. But perhaps the most important cause owing to which interest in medieval Indian history has been waning and research receiving a setback, is the tendency in certain quaters to regard this period not as an organic part of India's past, but as something which stands apart from the main current of this country's social and cultural development, and which does not therefore merit any serious attention and study. The result of this attitude is that the number of scholars taking up the study of this period has been increasingly declining, and there has been a corresponding falling off in the quality of research.

But despite these drawbacks, the recent years cannot be said to have been entirely devoid of achievements. I do not wish to review the work that has been done on the subject, for this task has been very ably performed by my predecessors. But I would like to refer to a healthy tendency that has grown lately : this is the attempt to fill up the gaps in our historical studies, and open up new lines of investigation. Apart from the publication of monographs on Ala-ud-din Khalji, Mir Jumla, the Lodies and the later Mughals, and the biographies of Mahmūd Gāvān, Mir Jumla and Asaf Jah I, the histories of some of the provincial dynasties have been brought out. Baba Farīd, Dadu, and Sarmad have found their biographers ; and a number of works have been written not only in English but also in Indian languages like Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, and Tamil, giving an account of the various religious movements of this period. Recently two volumes containing documents relating to the reign of Shah Jahan and the Deccan (1660-1671), which are very useful for the administrative history of the period, have been published at Hyderabad. Barani's *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, a book on political thought, has been translated into English, and will shortly be published in *the Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh. In addition to these works, a number of *MSS.* like the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, the *Khairu-Majalis*, Javhar's *Tazkiratul-Waqiat* and Fakhr Mudabbir's *Adabult Harb*, which contain a mine of information on the social, political and military history of medieval India are being edited at Aligarh. It is being felt that unless and until source materials are made easily

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available to scholars by the editing of important original texts, it will not be possible to do full justice to research on medieval India on account of the lack of sufficient data, and as a result, the tendency to indulge in vague generalisations will continue.

All this indeed is an impressive record. But if we look at the picture closely we shall find that it has many lacunæ and blemishes, and as time and space does not permit me to discuss them here in detail, I shall refer only to a few which strike me as the most important ones. In the first place, our progress is so slow that while interest is being directed to those fields, hitherto ignored, some of the older works are getting out of date. It is many years ago that the biographies of Babar, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan were written ; but since new materials have come to light, there should be a re-interpretation of the careers of these rulers. Similarly it is urgently required that a fresh investigation of the institutions of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals be undertaken. While work has been done on the political history of some of the provincial dynasties, not enough attention has been paid to their cultural achievements. Moreover, since a number of works on Indian mystics, both Hindu and Muslim, have been published, time has arrived when a complete and critical bibliography of Sufism in India be compiled, and a study of the mutual interaction of Sufism and Vedanta philosophy be made.

There are a number of problems also which require a thorough investigation. In the first place there is the problem of the spread of Islam in India. Some writers think that Islam spread due to the efforts of Muslim kings. But recent researches have shown that, with a few exceptions, Muslim rulers were not only not interested in proselytization, but sometimes they actively opposed it. Zain-ul Abidin of Kashmir, for example, permitted those Brahmans who had become Muslims during the reign of his father Sikandar, to return to their former religion. It was in reality the Sufis who were mainly instrumental in bringing about the conversion of non-Muslims to the Islamic faith. But it should be remembered that the latter never carried on direct or organised missionary activities. What they did was to lead a life of piety, self-denial and simplicity, and thus win disciples who later on became Muslims. However, the question is that although the pietist missionaries were active almost all over India, carrying the same message and adopting the same means, why were they more successful in some parts and less in others. I think the explanation of this lies in the fact that in those areas like the Indo-Gangetic plain and South India where the caste system was very strong, they were not able to make much headway, for a rigid caste system acted as a great cohesive and stabilising force which served as a powerful defence mechanism against the infiltration of foreign ideas. But in those areas like Kashmir and East

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Bengal where, under Buddhist influence, caste rules had been relaxed, Islam's success was rapid and easy, for Hindu society was unable to set up barriers against external influences.

Another problem that must be investigated is the cause of medieval society's failure to develop higher forms of social, economic and political organisation. While Europe passed from the middle ages into the modern age roughly during the early part of the sixteenth century, India remained tied to the apron strings of medievalism until very recently. I think there were many obstacles which kept the Indian society from progressing. The first was the caste system, which provided stability at the cost of advance. The second cause was the poverty of the masses which destroyed the market for an effective industry, while the internecine wars and foreign invasions dislocated trade and prevented the growth of a strong middle class which alone was capable of bringing about revolutionary social and economic changes. Besides, religion too had become a drag on progess, for it had shrunk to a narrow orthodoxy, discouraging free inquiry, science and philosophy. Thus conditions which are necessry to bring about the birth of a new society did not exist in India. These are only tentative suggestions that I have made. But unless and until a proper study of all aspects of medieval India is made, it would be difficult to say with certainty why it took such a long time for this country to break the bonds of feudalism and usher in a modern age.

I could do no more than refer to only a few gaps, for the study of this period is still in its infancy. But now I would like to direct your attention to another problem which is no less important. This is the attitude of mind which we should bring to an investigation of historical problems. It is not enough to know what we must study, but also how we must study.

We should not forget that we are still living under the shadow of past legacies handed down to us by the British historians of India. The contribution of British scholars to the historiography of medieval India has been very remarkable. We owe a great debt of gratitude to them for discovering and preserving a large number of manuscripts which, but for them, would have perished. They also brought out some excellent editions of Persian *MSS.* and their English translations with valuable notes, in addition to publishing a number of original monographs. Moreover, they gave a great fillip to historical studies by intitiating us into modern methods of research and imbuing us with a secular attitude, the attitude which holds that human affairs are shaped by human factors, as against the view that the historical process is the realisation of God's plan. But despite these contributions, they rendered one great disservice. They refused to apply the historical

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method which was being so successfully applied by their contemporaries in Europe. The essence of the historical method, the discovery of which was ' the greatest contribution made by Germany to European civilisation since the Reformation,' (Peter Geyl, *Use and Abuse of History*, p. 31) consists in regarding history as well as other branches of humanities in terms of growth and development; in refraining from measuring earlier ages by the reputedly stable, even eternal, standards of natural law; in trying to enter into the habits of thought, sentiments, mode of behaviour of the people under review ; and in judging the men of the particular epoch with their virtues and vices, within the system of their time." (*Ibid.*, p. 32).

But the British historians of medieval India refused to follow these principles. The result was that they gave us a distorted picture of the past. Luckily a number of Indian scholars rebelled against their system, and tried to follow the healthier traditions of European historiography. However, the ghost of Elliot and Lane-Poole, of Smith and Haig has not been driven from the field of historical research and keeps on haunting our historians.

Perhaps a very great damage that has been done to the study of this period is the spead of the wrong conception that the activities of the Turkish and Mughal Governments could be explained only in terms of Islam. Some writers have even gone to the extent of saying that medieval governments were theocracies. But this is incorrect, for theocracy implies rule by the priesthood in accordance with the Sacred Law. In India, however, the *Ulama* did not exercise much influence on public affairs, while the *Sharia* in ordinary practice was no more respected than any other law. The medieval governments, in actual fact, were not theocracies but secular governments, drawing their inspiration not from the islamic ideals but from the monarchical traditions of Central Asia, Persia and India. Bālban, Ala-ud-dīn, Muhammad Tughlaq and other rulers generally flouted the wishes of the *Ulama*, and tried to follow what they thought was best for the state. Similarly, the policies of Sher Shah, Babar an Akbar were determined mainly by political factors. (Note, for example, the utter indifference of Bābar to the advice given him by Abd-ul Quddus Gangohi regarding the importance of enforcing the *Sharia*). Even Aurangzeb, I believe, was more influenced by political rather than religious considerations. This is evident from the reply he gave to the complaint of Muhammad Amīn Khān that heretics and infidels were occupying high positions in the state. Aurangzeb pointed out that in matters of administration there should not be any discrimination and that it was inexpedient to dispense with the services of Shias and Hindus. The historian Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī, writing in the fourteenth century, was simply stating what had become an article of faith with the Princes when he said that

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sovereignty is never possible without practising non-Muslim customs, and that political expediency was more important than the interest of religion. It would not be out of place to quote here a great Orientalist who has made a deep study of Islamic history and institutions. Sir Hamilton Gibb, in summing up the nature of medieval Muslim governments, observes : ' Since the tenth century the State had gradually diverged more and more from the path traced out by the Muslim theorists. It elaborated an ethic of its own, whose values were derived from the old imperial traditions of Asia and very far removed from the Islamic values. Against this inverted culture the Muslim legist waged an unceasing struggle, in the effort to re-convert the State into an embodiment of the principles of the Sacred Law. Later on, indeed, Muslim political theorists, accommodating themselves to the changed situation, began to distinguish Caliphate from Kingship, applying the former term in a new sense to denote any government which recognised and enforced the Sacred Law, as against a secular despotism which governed by arbitrary or natural law.' (H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammadanism*, pp. 15-16).

The great malaise from which our historical writing suffers is subjectivism. On the one hand there are some writers who are out to glorify Turkish and Mughal rule in India, and who are ever ready to justyfy all the actions of Muslim rulers. They feel that if they do not take up cudgels in defence of these rulers, they would be letting down Islam. On the other hand, there are other writers who regard the period from about 1200 to 1700 as a dark age, devoid of any achievements and characterised by civil strife, religious persecution, plunder and wanton destruction.

It is not my object here to prove or disprove these allegations. I only wish to point out to an attitude of mind which is increasingly being dominated by subjectivism, and which is a great danger to sound scholarship. I do not suggest that we should completely eliminate the subjective element, for a hundred per cent objectivity is neither possible nor desirable. I do not agree with some historians who hold the view that we should not judge the past but simply show how things had happened; for this kind of impartiality with no definite final judgement can only lead to the production of dead stuff. Controversy illuminates much that is dark; suggestions and arguments enrich the picture. My plea is that we should study past events with sympathy and understanding, and to avoid a dogmatic and fanatical approach to historical problems. We should refrain from reading the past as a projection of the present, and applying modern standards in judging past events. By this I do not mean that we should condone injustice, intolerance and tyranny; what I suggest is that we should not make such demands of an age the fulfilment of which was not within its power. We should always have a proper sense of historical perspective. Thus it would not

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be reasonable on our part to expect from the medieval rulers to have established representative institutions, eschewed wars of self-aggrandisement, and founded public works on a modern scale. ' It is a part of the historic sense, ' as one historian has observed, to be able to judge an age in relation to its needs, its problems and achievements, to set its failures against the satisfactions given." (A.L. Rowse, *Use of History*, p. 142).

The medieval age in India, it must be admitted, was at times characterised by great violence, cruelty, insecurity, waste and luxury. It lacked intellectual vigour, and made no original contribution to science, and mathematics and very little to philosophy and medicine. It had no conception of change and progress, and its tendency was to look backwards rather than forwards. But perhaps its greatest failing was its attitude of superiority, even arrogance, towards foreign ideas. However, against these failings the medieval period has also many achievements to its credit. It opened India's doors to foreign influences whose impact on her was profound and far-reaching. It challenged some of the basic assumptions of Hindu society, and thus gave rise to a mood of inquiry, self-analysis and reform. It saw the birth of the Bhakti movement and the development of vernacular literatures. It was a period of learning, great refinement, chivalry and piety, and gave us men like Amīr Khusrau and Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, Kabīr and Nanak, Chaitanya, Tulsidas and Dadu, Sher Shah, Akbar and Dārā ; Abu-'l-Fazl and Faizī. Furthermore, it was responsible for the birth and development of Indo-Muslim architecture and painting, and it made great contributions to music and the minor arts like metal-work, calligraphy, the binding and illustrating of books, pottery and weaving of carpets and textiles.

It was thus a period which was rich in achievements, and if we ignore it, we shall be doing great harm to ourselves. History cannot be divided into watertight compartments. It can only be understood in terms of a process of growth and development, for one period is organically related to another. The influence of the medieval age has been so profound and extensive that it has woven itself into the very fabric of Indian society. If fact, it will not be too much to say that there is hardly any aspect of our life which does not bear its impress. Unfortunately, however, our knowledge about the medieval age is blurred, diffused and patchy. It is only when all the aspects have been thoroughly investigated, that it will be possible to get a clear, complete, and an integrated picture of this important period of our history.

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MEDICINES AND HOSPITALS IN MUSLIM INDIA

PROF. HASAN ASKARI

The Qurān says, ' He who has restored life to a man shall be accounted as if he had restored life to humanity ' (V. 35). The act of healing was taken as an act of piety by the Arabs and the early Muslims who ' attached great importance to the care of the body, cleanliness and health.'[1] The Prophet said, ' Your body has a claim upon you and, also your eyes ' and that ' cleanliness is an article of faith.' There is another Hadis (saying of the Prophet) : ' Get yourselves treated ; for God has not inflicted diseases upon us without at the same time giving us the remedy.' The Muslims thought it their duty to search for these remedies. Shams Sirāj Afif prefaces his account of the contributions of Firuz Shāh Tughlaq to the practical side of medicine with another Hadis : ' Knowledge is twofold—knowledge of the body and knowledge of religion '. Masnad-i-Āli Miyān Bhowa, son of Khawās Khan, the learned prime minister of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, opens his voluminous standard work on medicine, compiled largely from Indian sources and named *Maaḍan-us-Shifā* or *Tibb-i-Sikandari*, by quoting this and other precepts of the Prophet. It was due to such inspiration that the early Muslims displayed great eagerness and zeal for the study and cultivation of medical science. They collected the Greek treasures, saved them from irremediable loss, and transmitted them, along with something of their own and what they derived from Persian and Indian sources, to medieval Europe. The school of Jundi Shāpur in Khuzistān (S. W. Persia) with its famous hospital, run mostly by Syriac-speaking Christians, well versed in the work of Hippocrates and Galen and not unfamiliar, perhaps, with the ancient Indian system became a model for the hospitals of the Islamic world.[2] Of these the most important and well organized were those of Syria and Irāq (Damascus and Baghdād), of the Buwaihids of Persia, of the Tulunids, Fatimids and the Ayyubids in Egypt, and of the Moors in Spain. As early as 88 A. H. the Umayyad Caliph, Walid b. Abdul Malik, established the first institution of the

1. *Vide* Chap. xiii on Islamic Medicine in Cumstan, *History of Medicine.*

2. *Islamic culture*, Hydarabad, 1937. Cumstan was of opinion that the first hospitals worthy of the name really date from the Islamic period. For an account of such hospitals one may refer to Maulana Shibli's paper entitled " Islamic Shifā Khāna " and the paper in *IC*, Jan. 1944, entitled " Contribution to the historical study of Hospitals in medieval Islam." There is no mention of the Indian hospitals.

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sick in Islam. It was a sort of an asylum or infirmary for the insane and the blind ones. Walid also assigned to the lepers a separate asylum and even granted them pension. About 500 years later the great Spanish scholar and traveller, Ibn-i-Jubair, saw a number of lunatics in this old Hospital of Damascus. The large number of magnificient and well-equipped Hospitals, which he saw in the second half of the 6th century A. H. in the different parts of the Islamic world, made him exclaim with just pride: 'These Māristans[3] (hospitals) constitute the chief glories of Islam.'

The influences of the Greek, Persian, and Indian systems of medicines contributed to the evolution of what is generally known as 'Unāni System'. The Indians had made more progress than any other people of antiquity in many sciences, specially mathematics and medicine. Medicine is said to have been originally transplanted from India to Persia. The 'Ayurveda' or knowledge of life or science of longevity comprized in the works of some of the greatest Indian authorities such as Charaka, Suśruta, Mādhavakara (author of the Nidāna), Vāgabhaṭṭa (author of the *Ashṭāṅgahṛdaya*), all mentioned by Abul Hasan Ali b. Rabbāni Tabari in his great medical compendium called *Firdaus-ul-Hikmat*, compiled in 236 = A.D. 850, is said to have been a gift of God. Indra or Brahma revealed it to the Indian phyisicians through Dhanwantari, the sage-prince of Benares. Medical development in India was at its height during the ascendancy and under the influence of the Buddhists. The Buddhists, with their love and sympathy for all and anxious to relieve the suffering creatures, did more than any other class of people for the evolution and practical development of medical science. Buddhist princes established hospitals not only for human beings but also animals. Aśokan inscription on Rock Edict II refer to such an institution known as 'Chikitsa'. The Vaishāli Bhikshus of North Bihar had their Ghanshāla where they received free treatment. A recent excavation at Kumhrar (old Patna City) has brought out a seal of 'Vihār Arogya Shāla.' The Chinese Buddhist pilgrims refer to the houses of the sick that they found in various parts of India. Hiuen Tsang (630-43) tells us of the rest-houses where physicians were stationed 'with supply of medicine to the necessitious without stint'. Earlier still, Fā-Hien, speaking of Pāṭaliputra, says 'The nobles and householders have founded hospitals within the city, to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, the crippled and the diseased may repair. They receive every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases and according to the cases order their food and drink and medicine, or decoction, every thing in fact which may contribute to their ease. When cured they depart at their conveniences.' The

3. Abbreviated from of the Persian word 'Bimāristan'. Hospitals were also called as 'Dārus-us-Shifā', 'Sehat Khāna', 'Shifā-Khāna' and 'Bimārkhana'.

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tradition continued long afterwards. 'Chikitsa Vidyā' or medical science formed one of the principal subjects of study in the University of Nālandā and Vikramaśila in Bihar. Even in the neighbouring countries we get evidence of such works of public utility. Some of the kings of Ceylon are credited with the execution of 'Suthiśālas' or hospitals and a Buddhist king of Cambodia, Jaya Varman VII of the 12th century, built as many as 102 hospitals, the site of fifteen of which has been determined by means of inscriptions recording their foundation. The evidence, epigraphic or literary, gives some idea of the system of treatment organized by the states.

The Muslims with their thirst for knowledge and eager to learn good things from all (for their Prophet had said, 'Seek knowledge even if it be in China'), and imbued with a zeal for relieving the suffering humanity, could not fail to take notice of, and derive benefit from, the Indian system of medicine which had reached a high state of perfection. The works best known to them, the Saṁhitas of Charaka and Suśruta, perhaps a product of the best era of Indian Buddhistic medicine, were translated into Persian or Arabic as early as the 8th century A.D. As many as seven works of the Indian physician, 'Kanaka', were translated into Arabic for the Abbāssid Caliph of Baghdād. 'In Baghdād', says Brocklemanne,[4] 'Greek medicine encountered Indian.' Maṅka or Māṇikya, an Indian physician, cured Caliph Hārun-ar-Rashid (786-809) of a severe disease and, according to Ibn-i-Nadim (Alfihrist) he also translated the works of Suśruta. Another physician known as Saleh bin Bhalla, who had probably become a convert to Islam, lived long at Baghdad and cured prince Ibrāhim, a cousin of Hārun. The Barmicide Vazir of the Abbāssids, specially Yahyā b. Khālid, a descendant of an Abbot of a Buddhist Monastery in Central Asia, took special interest in Indian sciences, sent for Indian physicians and scholars, imported Indian drugs, and had Indian works translated into Arabic. Appan Dhan was a great Indian scholar who helped the establishment of a translation bureau and was put in charge of the Bermecide Hospital at Baghdad. In the closing years of the 10th century a remarkable work on pharmacology, based on a comprehensive study of Greek, Indian , Arabian and Persian medicines, was produced by a Persian named Abu Mansur Munaffaq. The 13th century pharmacologist Ibn-i-Baitār also shows his indebtedness to Indian sources. It is interesting to find that of the three greatest early Islamic physicians, Rhazes, Avicenna and Avenzoar, each of whom was in charge of a hospital, the first who belonged to the 3rd or 10th century and whose monograph on small-pox and measles is considered to be the earliest on the subject, mentions Suśruta and cites several now unidentified Indian authors

4. *History of the Islamic people*, p. 125. See also *Islamic Culture*, vol. XI, 1937," Transmission of Greek and Indian Sciences to the Arabs " and " Arabo-o-Hind ke Taalluqat " by the late Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi.

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in his encyclopædic work called *Al-Hāvi Fit-Tib.* Even the great Abu Ali B. Sena (Avicenna) the ' Aristotle of Islam ' called Shaikh-ul-Raīs, whose *Qānun* or canon (originally in 14 volumes) and *Qānūncha* have been treated as the Bible of the Unāni system, while dealing with the treatment of certain diseases, refers to the system and practices of the Indians. The renowned Muslim savant, Alberuni (973-1045), in his rare treatise on drugs, *Kitāb-us-Saidāna*[5] *Fit-Tib*[5], writes : ' There is no people inclined so much to sciences as the Indian. But this branch (medicine) particularly is based by them on principles which are opposite to western rules to which we are accustomed. Moreover, the contrast between them and ourselves concerning religion, manners and customs and their excessive care concerning purity and uniformity prevents intercourses and cuts short scientific discussions.'

Perhaps the growing rigidity in the structure of Hindu society which carried the germs of decay and degeneration within it and the greater appreciation of and familiarity with, the Greek medical sciences by the Muslims were responsible for the development by them of the new system known as 'Unāni'. But the Indian element had a considerable share in the evolution of the Islamic system and the Indian Muslims were forced to adopt themselves to their new environment. The stream of Hindu life did not cease to flow with the advent of the Muslims and some works of first class importance were produced in Sanskrit in the domain of religion, philosophy and law. Whatever may be said about the lack of creative energy in the sphere of other sciences, there was no dearth of Vaidyaka literature in Muslim India. *Māaḍan-us-Shifa* or *Tibbi-i-Sikandari*, already referred to, compiled in 918, is an encyclopædic work on Indian Materia Medica and the treatment of 1167 diseases. Some of the standard medical treatiese were written even after the advent, though not under the auspices, of the Muslims. Besides the classical Saṁhitās of Charaka and Suśruta and their great commentaries, specially those by the 11th century Bengali physician, Chakrapāṇidatta, and the latter's authoritative work on the different diseases by metallic preparations such as Makaradhvaja or Rasasindur, introduced first, perhaps, by Vāgabhaṭṭa and Vrinda, Miyān Bhowa has drawn copiously from the works of Sārangadhara, Vāgabhaṭṭa and from the *Tibb-i-Bhaoshabad* and the *Tibb-i-Bang Sen*, from Chiṁtāmaṇi, Yoga Muktāvali, Rasa Ratnākara, Rasa Maljarbati (?), Kāyīdatta, Bhoja, Bhāta, and Jaya Deva Kṛita. The Bengali physician, Bang Sen, is said to have flourished in the 12th, if not in the 13th century A.D. *The Sālihotra* of Bhoja of the Rajput period on the diceases and remedies of horses was very popular with the martial class of the Muslims, and many books were written in Persian, some bearing the

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same title. One such work which was a translation of some Sanskrit work was compiled by Abdullah and dedicated to Sultan Ahmad Shāh Wali of the Bahmani dynasty in 810 A.H.[5]

It is not quite correct to say that Miyān Bhowa's *Tibb-i-Sikandari* was the first standard work written and brought into general use in India by the Muslims. The author of the rare *MS. Sirat-Firuz Shāhi*, refers to a book *Tibb-i-Firuz Shāhi* which was written ' at the instance and under the direction of His Majesty the King, giving positive proof of his skill in the medical science. The treatment of the different diseases which have been dealt with in the store-houses of the Qānun can be learnt from the book. Who-so-ever wants to get his ailments cured should turn to the work." The author of the *Sirat-Firuz-Shāhi* and also Barni refer to another work *Shikār Nāmā-i-Firuz Shāhi* and and the former has even ascribed its authorship to the emperor to show that he was an expert in animal diseases. In a *MS.* in O.P.L. Patna, containing selections from books or *Muālijāt-i-Tujur* (treatment of birds) there is a piece divided into 29 sections and called *Tibb-i-Firuz Shāhi* or *Bāznāmā-i-Firuz Shāhi*. A treatise of veterinary art called *Qurrat-ul-mulk*[6], which is really a Persian translation of a Sanskrit work, mentions Sultan Ghiyāsuddin of Malwa (873-806). *Kitāb-i-Tibb*,[7] a compendium of medical science containing anatomical, physiological, and medical matters, was compiled by Yusuf Shahābi for Bahrām Shah, the ruler of Ghazni and Lahore, who ascended the throne in 574 or A.D. 1152. Sultan Zainul Ābedin, the 'Akbar of Kashmir' (1423-72), ordered the translation of several works and patronized among others the great physician, Śrībhaṭṭa[8] and Mansur bin Ahmad. The latter dedicated to him one of his medical manuals known as *Kefāyaṇ-i-Mujāhidiya*, which was used by later physicians.

A great number of individuals practised medicine in various branches such as pharmacy (Dawāsāzi), Surgery (Jarrāhi), physiology (Manāfi-ul-Āzā), anatomy of the human body (Tashrihul Āzā), therapeutics (Tashkhis-o-Muālijā), ophthalmology (Ilm-i-Amrāz Chashm), Dietetics (Ilm-ul-Ghizā) etc. There were physicians (Tabib or Hakim), phlebetomist or bleeder (Fassād or Ragzan), Kuhhāl (oculist or eye-

5. A very old wornout copy of this rare and unique work found in the library of Muslim University, Aligarh, was noticed in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, 1946. This is an article on Aconite from Kitab-us-Sadaina in *IC*, Oct. 1945. Albernni speaks of Indian 'poison herbs'. A Sanskrit treatise on ferriery consisting of 16,000 ślokas on the knowledge of horses and their melodies was translated into Persian by Khwāja Abdullah entitled Nawab Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firuz Jung in the time Emperor Jehangir. A book called *Faras-nāma* is said to have been written in the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.

6. Elliot, (vol. V, p. 573), says that this work was translated as early as 783/1381 from an original styled Sālotar.

7. Besides the *MS.* on Medicine in O.P.L. Patna which has been used, the Catalogues of the British Museum and the India Office Library prepared by Rieu have been consulted.

8. Ferishta.

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doctor) and bone-setters. History has preserved the names of various physicians who were attached to, and received honour and privileges at, the court of kings and also of those who were specially renowned in medical profession. Knowledge of medicine was not confined to a few professional classes, as its acquisition was a part of the normal accomplishment of an educated Muslim. Both Barni[9] and Ferishta say about Muhammad Tughlaq that among the rational sciences he had specially studied medicine. No learned or scientific men including physicians could argue with him and he went so far as to attend himself on patients afflicted with any remarkable diseases. At Patan when he fell ill he used his own medicine. The author of the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shāhi* in a chapter on 'Tibb' has tried to show that Firuz Shah was well-versed in the healing art and acted as a physician, curing those who approached him. Dealing with his knowledge of anatomy, he says that he gave such learned expositions on the skeleton of the human body, its arteries, nerves, veins, muscles, bones etc. as to cause surprize to the physicians of the age. The emperor is also credited with having caused the preparation of a kind of collyrium called 'Kuhal-i-Firuz Shāhi' whose ingredients included the skin of black cobra, and it was kept ready for the patients in the 'Dārus-Shifā'[10] (hospital) established by him. Badāuni, the historian of Akbar, referring to an earlier king, Ibrahim, son of Masud and grandson of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna who died in 472 A.H. after a reign of 30 years, says that 'Dāru-i-Chashm' (Eye medicine) and other mixtures and medicaments for all diseased folk used to be obtainable from his store-house at Ghazni.

Before dealing at some length with the hospitals and dispensaries established and maintained by the Government and others of which we get sufficient evidence from the time of Firuz Shah to that of Aurangzeb, we may refer to the physicians and the practice of medicine at different periods of Muslim India. Writing about Alā-ud-din Khalji, Barni says, 'There were physicians in the Alāi age whose genius and accomplishments in the treatment and cure of diseases could well compare with those of Galen and Hippocrates. Such physicians as flourished in the reign of Alā-ud-din have not been seen in any age or period.' He mentions the master physician (Ustād-ul-Atibbā), Maulāna Badruddin Damishqi, to whom flocked people to get lessons in medicine and says that he lectured so eloquently and gave such clear and lucid expositions of the Qānun, Qānuncha and other standard works that people prostrated

9. The *MSS.* in the Patna Oriental Public Library have been consulted.

10. This and the older (Māristan) have been used by the author of S.F.S. But Afif has used 'Shifa Khāna' and 'Sihat Khana' for hospital. It is interesting to find Afif mentioning the use of 'Shia' Khāna, occasionally as a guest-house. He tells us that when the Great Suhrawadi Saint, Syed Jalaluddin Bukheri, the present writer's direct ancestor came from Uch, the emperor advanced from Ferozabad to receive him and kept him as his honoured guest either at the great Kushk near the Minerva or in 'Shefa Khāna' or in the enclosure of the deceased prince Fath Khān.

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themselves before him in admiration. He could diagnose the diseases easily and say what medicine would cure them simply by putting his hands on the pulse of the patients. Other noted physicians of the age who were specialists in examining the pulse, diagnosing the diseases, and effecting their cure were Maulāna Sadruddin, son of M. Husāmuddin, Maulāna Izzuddin Badānni, and a 'Tabib-i-yamani.' Barni says that the Nāgari Brahmans were specially skilled in the healing art in the capital city and he refers to the noted physician and intellectual, Mahachand. These and Jājā Jarrāh (surgeon) Ilmuddin Kuhhāl (oculist—eye doctor) are said to have had no peer in India. About Maulāna Badruddin Damishqi he says further that if the urine of a human being mixed up with that of some animals was brought before him in a glass, he would smile and say what animals had been used for the purpose.

Abul Qāsim Ferishta, the well known historian, who was himself an expert physician says that it was difficult to name the animals whose urine had been used, but as Maulāna Damishqi was also a saintly personage, he could detect the thing. It would be interesting to know that this great historian has left behind a compendium of medicine, deseases and their cure according to the Indian system, named *Dastur-ul-Atibbā* or *Ikhtiyārāt-i-Qāsmi*. He writes in the preface that failure to get as good response in India to the medicine which he had been accustomed to prescribe in Persia made him think over the special circumstances of climate, soil and products of India and the constitution and temperament of the people of his land of adoption. He began to study the books of the Indian authors, some of whom he mentions, and also the properties of the Indian drugs, and thought it worth while to compile the book. Another historian, Mir Māsum Bhakkari, the author of *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, was also a physician and two of his books on medicine, *Mufarridāt* and *Tibb-i-Nāmi* have come down to us. Some nobles and high Mansabdārs of the Mughals were also well known for their knowledge and practice of medicine. For example Hakim Alimuddin, entitled Wazir Khan, a Panjhazri noble of Shah Jahan who filled the high offices of Khān-i-Sāmān, Diwān and Governor of the Punjāb, was a noted physician of the time. Shaikh Hasan, son of surgeon Shaikh[11] Binā Sarhindi and entitled Muqatab Khan who was also given the rank of 5000 by Jahāngir and who held the governorship of Gujrat and Bihar, was a master surgeon of the age.

Thus surgery was not confined to the class of barbers as it came to be in later times. It may not have been so developed as medicine; but

11. The author of Shah Jahān Nāma says that Shaikh Bhinā or Phinā of Kirtana in the Tanqab was without any equal in his age in the practice f Medicine, specially in surgery. The names of three other members of the family who was expelled have come down to us.

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we find references to some difficult and interesting operations and cure that they performed. Manucci tells us about the surgeons of Bijāpur who cut the skin of the forehead above the eyebrows and provided artificial noses to those who had been mutilated and disfigured by the Mughal soldiery. Muhammad Sāleh Kamboh, the historian of Shah Jahān, says in *Amal-i-Sāleh*, that when the ointment of Ārif, the surgeon, cured Princess Jahān Āra who, being severely burnt, was confined to bed for 4 months in 1054 A.H. Emperor Shahjahan had him weighed in money and granted him 7000 rupees and also a robe and a horse. Gulbadan Bānu Begam, the step-sister of Humāyun, has referred to the efficient services rendered by a bone-setter. The books of medicine written in India on the basis of the works of the Indian authors include matters relating to surgery.

It is not necessary to catalogue the names of the physicians of the time of the Great Mughals and the works that they produced, dedicating some to the emperors like Bābar, Humāyun, and Aurangzeb. Yusuf bin Md. Harvi, who was also a Munshi or scribe, dedicated two of the collections of medical treatises named *Tibb-i-Yusufi* or *Riyāz-al-Adhiya* to Bābār and Humāyun in 937 and 943 A.H. Maulānā Md. Fazl wrote an encyclopedic work in 946 and called it *Humāyuni. Zakhira-i-Daru*[12] *Shikohi*, an encyclopaedic work on medicine in two volumes composed by Nuruddin Shirazi, was dedicated to Prince Dara. A book, *Riāz-i-Ālamgiri*, on materia medica and on principles and regulations for the preservation of health commenced in 1080 A.H. (A.D. 1669) and compiled ten years after by Hakim Md. Razi Shirāzi, was dedicated to the reigning emperor. The list of about a score of noted physicians of Akbar's time, seven of Jahangir's reign, nine of Shah Jāhān's period, and many others of the time of Aurangezeb and of the later Mughals like Farrukh Seyar and Muhammad Shah has been given by contemporary chroniclers. One should, however, note that some noted physicians were included in the ' Nauratan ' of Akbar and Jahangir, and Shah Jāhān ennobled physicians by giving them Mansabs or ranks and robes of honour and even offices.[13] Hakim Mamina Shirāzi, an attendant of

12. Some voluminous works which are still in use include those dedicated to later Mughals and their nobles such as Amir Khan, Govrenor of Allahabad. Hakim Sharif, son of Haziqul Mulk Akmal Khan, a direct ancestor of the famous Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi, refers in his book, Talif-i-Sherif, to the works of his predecessors, such as Zakhira-i-Dara-Shikohi and ' Dasturul Honud " and claims to have utilized the Indian source better than others.

13. It would suffice to refer have only to two such personages mentioned by the English in their factory records. Hakim Khushal, son of the famous Hakim Humam of Akbar's time served as Bakhshi and Waqia-Nawis of the Deccan, and his brother Hakim Haziq, was sent as an envoy to Imam Quli, thde ruler of Turan. More important was Hakim Sadrā Shirazi, entitled Masihuz Zamān who came to India in 1011 in the time of Akbar and was given a rank of 3,000. While mentioning the appointment of this noted physician as Governor of Surat in 1633 in place of Muizzul Mulk the English factor says, " He is 60 years of age, very grey and of a grave venerable aspect. He has served the late and the present King (Jahangir) for many years as a physician and in in other offices. He is highly esteemed by the King who gave him a Jagir of 5 lakhs of Mahmudi.

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Mahābat Khan, was given Mansab of 1000 and granted 20,000 annual allowance by Jahangir. Hakim Daud entitled Taqarrub Khan, once the court physician of Abbas, the Safvid king of Persia, was granted 20,000 cash and a Mansab of 1500 Zat and 200 Sawārs on the day he sought the audience of emperor Shah Jāhān. In the 23rd year he rose to 4000, and in the 27th year he was granted 30,000 for curing the Emperor. Hakimul mulk Abul Qasim was given the rank of 2000. These intances will suffce. It is interesting to find also women noted for their knowledge of medicine and skill in the healing art. The case of Umdat-un-Nisā, Satti Khānum, who died in Safar 1056 A.H., a sister of the poet, Tabib Amuli, is an instance in point. Another thing worth noting is the name of Hindu physicians, Mahādeva, Bhim, Nāth, Narain of Akbar's time, of Sheoji, ' the Hindu Tabib ' of Aurangzeb's reign and Hakim Sukhrāj of Muhammad Shah's time. John Marshal in his journal edited by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan has devoted one whole chapter to medical knowledge which he gleaned from the Hindu physicians. He has referred to Nilkanth, a doctor of Hugli, Baijnath and Sheogobind, the Hindu doctors of Patna. He has also mentioned the remedies for many ailments such as Dropsy, Gout, Stone, French pox or Syphilis which were prescribed by the Hindu doctor at Patna in November 7, 1671.

Unfortunately the contemporary chroniclers of the medieval period were too much preoccupied with political matters and did not think it worth while to include in their records such social affairs of importance as the establishment of hospitals, dispensaries, and nursary homes for public good . But the information, though scanty, is not entirely lacking and very often some thing incidentally mentioned provides us with uncontestable proofs of the existence of such institution of public utility. The reign of Firuz Shah is an exception ; for what the emperor himself says in his *Fatuhāt* finds confirmation with greater elaboration in Sirat-i-Firuz Shāhi and in Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhi by Shams Sirāj Afif. Barni has not referred to the hospitals established by Firuz Shah which, according to Ferishta, a later chronicler, were five in number. Perhaps this benevolent institution was set up after Barni had laid down his pen. If Maqrizi, the Arabic historian, is to be believed there were numerous hospitals even during the time of Muhammad Tughluq. Qalqashandi, the Egyptian author of Subhal Aāsha, wrote in 814 A.H. that there were 70 Dārushifā in the time of Md. Tughlaq. It is strange, however, that neither Barni nor Ibn-i-Batuta make any mention of such an important thing. Dr. Mahdi Hussain in his introduction to his translation of *Rihla* says ' Women also accompanied the army, although Ibn-i-Batuta has left the purpose they served to be conjectured by the readers. Presumably some were employed as nurses since every army contained a medical department (Dar-us-Shifa)' There is evidence of the existence of military hospitals in the history of the Muslims outside

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India besides those which had been established and maintained by Government for public purposes. But the text of the 'Rihla' does not warrant any such assumption. Ferishta's version of the relevant portion of Fatuhāt-i-Firuz Shāhi, 'I have considered it is my duty to repair every public edifice of utility, *constructed by my predecessors* such as cāravansarāis, mosques, wells, recervoirs of water, aqueducts, canals, *hospitals*, alms houses, and schools and have alienated considerable portion of the revenue for their support', does not tally completely with the translated extract[14] of Elliot.

Elliot appears to have been interested more in the gist than the actual translation of the relevant sections, at least of Afif and he has left out some important sentences. After quoting a Hadis Afif says, 'Consequently all the crown wearers invariably and always took upon themselves the duty of taking interest in, and ascertaining the conditions of, the ailing persons. Every ruler during his reign exercising his intelligence and foresight thought that it was his bounden duty and responsibility to strive his utmost in taking care of the helpless and the forsaken ones. Showing desirable virtues and practising laudable deeds each ruler in his own reign and time established the benevolent institution of 'Sihat Khāna' (hospital), kept open the doors of generosity and favours to all the diseased ones, whether acquaintancess or strangers, and provided the distressed ones with effective medicine from their Dāru-Khāna (dispensary) under their control'. After making some more observations of a general nature about the appointment of wise and skilled physicians who feel the pulse, ascertain the symptoms, study the temparament and constitution of the patients, diagnose the disease, and prescribe different medicines for different cases, the historian of Firuz Shah says about the Sultan that he 'strictly enjoined all these on his agents, established 'Shifā Khāna' (hospital) and 'Sihāt-khana' (convalescent houses) for the commonality of patients, appointed there skilful phsycians, able doctors, tried attendants, surgeons, oculist or eye-doctors, and ordering medicine, food and drink to be supplied from the treasury to the patients, opened the door of kindness and generosity to all the creatures, noble, and plebeian.'

We are told further that enough publicity was given and whenever the poor and the afflicted, crippled and diseased ones, came from far and near, the authorities and the attendants of the hospital hastened to welcome them and after hearing their cases and examining them the

14. 'I was enabled by God's help to build a Dārush Shifā (Hospital) for the benefit of everyone of high or low degree, who were attacked by illness or overcome by sufferings. Physicians attend them to ascertain the disease, to look after the cure, to regulate the diet, and to administer medicine. The cost of the medicine and the food is defrayed from my endowments. All sick persons, residents and travellers, gentle and simple, bond and free, resort thither. Their maladies are treated and under God's blessings, they are cured.' (Fatuhat tr. by Elliot).

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physicians prescribed the medicine suited to their condition and these were supplied freely along with food and drink to the ailing ones. Afif has made specific mention of 'Dārush-Shifā' (dispensary) which was attached to 'Shifā Khāna' (hospital) where 'remedy-giving medicaments,' simple and compound, were kept ready to be supplied to the sick. He also tells us that for meeting the expenses of the Diwān-i-Khairāt (Department of charity) and 'Shifā-Khāna' some rich and well populated villages were set apart and that the total expenditure in this connection came to four lakhs of 'Tankas.' The author of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shāhi* gives the additional information that the Sultan took personal interest in the treatment of those who suffered from eye-diseases, specially cataract, producing partial or total blindness, and of those who broke the bones of their hands and legs, due to fall from horses during hunting excursions. We are told further that he had issued orders that the people suffering from lunacy should be collected and kept chained and confined and they should be treated with suitable medicines and salutary dietary from Dārush-Shifā so long as they did not become normal so as to return to their homes. In the south, we are told by Ferishta, the Bahmanid Sultan Alā-ud-din II, the son and successor of Ahmad Shah Wali, early in his reign (857—1453), in his capital, Bidar, established a well situated and well-equipped hospital to support the expenses of which he endowed some villages. The patients were provided with food and medicines. Both Hindu and Muslim physicians were established there to treat the patients. Ferishta also says that Sultan Mahmūd Khalji of Malwa also founded a hospital at Shādiabad (Mandu) in 849 and he made an endowment of some villages for covering the expenses of medicines and other essential requirements. Maulānā Fazlullah, entitled Hakim-ul-Hukamā, was appointed to look after the sick and the lunatics. The author of *Tarikh-i-Qutub Shahi* tells us that Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah of Golconda was a great builder and benevolent ruler. Among the works for public benefit that he constructed there was a 'Dārush Shifā' near the famous 'Chār Miñār' at Hyderabad. He appointed physicians well-versed in the canons of treatment like those of Hippocrates, and other 'life infusing doctors' with a command on the subject of causes and symptoms of diseases and also a sagacious keeper of 'Dāru Khāna' which was provided with food and effective medicines, and they lectured to the students on the subject of medicine.

There are references to the establishment of hospitals in the Mughal period also. Of the 12 institutes issued by Jahāngir in 1014 A.H. one relates to the provision of public hospitals: 'Dārush Shifā should be established in every big town and physicians should be appointed to attend upon the sick. Whatever expenditure is incurred, it should be defrayed from the department of the 'Khālsa Sharifa' (crown lands).' Commenting on this order, Elliot cynically remarks that this regulation was as much observed as a similar institute by Jahangir's 'lying ances-

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tor', Taimur. How unfair is this remark is evident from certain well-established facts. Syed Md. Safi, entitled Saif Khan, the husband of Malka Bānu, the elder sister of Mumtāz Mahal, who built grand edifices at Patna, during his governorship of Gujarat, built at Ahmadabad in front of the 'Arak Fort' a mosque, a Madrasa, and a 'Dārush Shifā' in 1032 *i.e.* A.D. 1622. The year of construction is evident from the following chronogram 'Sāl-i-Itmām Ze Me'mār—Qazā—Justam-o-Guft-*Masjid-o-Madrasa-o-Dār-i-Shifā-i-Abād*'. These institutions of public utility continued to function till the end of the reign of Aurangzeb. For elsewhere in the same book, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, we find reference to that Emperor sanctioning in 1088 or A.D. 1677 the sum of 1580 rupees for 'the repair' of the Madrasa, Masjid, Hamam (public baths) and Dārush Shifā which had been built by Md. Safi entitled Saif Khan, the deceased. We are told further that in 1114, *i.e.*, 1702 the charge of the Dārush Shifā of the 'balada' (city—Ahmedabad) was transferred from Hakim Muhammad Taqi Shirāzi to Hakim Raziuddin.

Muhammad Saleh Kamboh, and also the author of *Badshahnmā*, the historians of Shah Jahān, tell us that in 1060, *i.e.*, 1649 on the southern and the northern corners of the famous Jam-i-Masjid (congregational mosque) in Delhi, a 'Dārush Shifā' and a 'Madrasa' of great neatness and purity were constructed. Lāla Silchand wrote a book, *Tafrihul Imārat*, on the monuments of Akbarabad Agra. On f. 73 of the *MS.* in the O.P.L. Patna, we get the interesting information that during the beneficent time of 'Dastur-i-Āzam, Āsaf Khān Khān-i-Khānān, the merchants who came to the metropolis made great profits within a very short time by the grace of God, and they established many 'Dārush Shifā' and 'Bimārkhāñā' in different places. Skilled physcians like Wazir Khan and Masihuzzamān contributed greatly to the development of the medical system.' Elsewhere (f.156) in the same book, we get reference to a building of the judicial department (Mahkama-i-Aḍālat) and that of 'Dārush Shifā' which had been built 'below the fort' in the 'Chouk' by Emperor Shahjahān. 'In the time of the past kings medicine was supplied to the poor from there.' Hakim Alim-uddin entitled Wazir Khan, who rose to the rank of 5,000 and to the governorship of the Panjab and founded the town of Wazirabad established a hospital for public use along with other outstanding buildings in his native town, Chiniot. (M.U).

Thus there is evidence of hospitals and dispensaries being established by Imperial government and also by charitably disposed people in affluent circumstances for the use of those who were too poor to bear the expenses of treatment. The author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* writing about 'Dārush Shifā' which was a part of the imperial 'kārkhāna', says that 'they were established for the treatment of those who were unable to spend anything even on their food.' According to the Sanads

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granted by the Court the seal of the Unāni physician sufficed and there was no condition attached about the (seal or sanction) of a Superintendent holder of ranks (Dārogha-i-Mansabdāri). An idea of the workings of the system and the cheapness of things can be had from what this well known author,[15] who himself served as the Diwan of Gujarat during the closing years of Muhammad Shah, says regarding the charitable institutions attached to the mausoleum of the scholarly Shah Wajihuddin, the patron saint of Ahmadabad. We were told that 'the physician in charge attached to the mausoleum received ten annas a day. The Ayurvedic physicians (Tabib-i-Hindi, appointed for the treatment of the Hindus of whom they had the best knowledge) were two in number. One of them got 8 annas a day for the expenses and 8 annas more for medicine, while the other got 10 annas a day. There was one surgeon (Jarrāh) who got 8 annas a day for expenses. The shops of the 'Maqbira' fetched some rent. The overall annual expenditure of the Government on medicine and food of the sick and poor patients amounted to 2,000 rupees. This according to regulation (Muwāfiq-i-Zābita), was disbursed from the Imperial Exchequer.'

The historian, Khāfi Khan, writing about the year 1103, *i.e.*, 1691, says that on the report of the Sawānih Nigār of Surat two officlas including Muhammad Bāqar, 'one of the Hakims' (physician) of 'Dāruṣh Shifā' was removed. These two dismissed officials secured a recommendation for their reinstatement from the saintly and scholarly Sayed Sāadullah whom the Emperor held in such high esteem that he used to write replies to his requests for others in his own hands. But this time the emperor caused a 'Hasbul Hukm' (agreeably to orders) to be sent to the Sufi saint, accommodating him, but dropping hints that the 'learned Darwesh' was expected to recommend the cases of learned divines and religious mendicants and not the tyrannical and oppressive ones. The incidental information furnished here is not without its significance and the vigilance of the emperor in matters of administratin is also worth consideration.

That hospitals and dispensaries as charitable institutions for the care of the poor and the indigent persons existed in medieval and Muslim times is proved beyond doubt from the few facts that have been gleaned from Persian sources which were easily available. Perhaps a careful and painstaking research may enable one to add something more and give a more satisfactory treatment of this important subject. It appears that well-to-do physicians and high-placed officials cared for the destitute and had their own 'Sihat Khāna' and 'Shifā Khāna'. The writer's village copy of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* has a

15. Mirza Muhammad Hasan, entitled Ali Muhammad Khan Zahadin wrote *Mirza-i-Ahmed* between 1120 and 1174 A.H. His father was a recorder (Waqia Niger) under the ministry of Jehandar Shah (sometime after 1170).

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clear mention twice of a ' Sihat Khāna, ' which was attached to the house of Hakim Ali at Lahore with whom no physician could compare.' But Mr. Beveridge translates it at one place as ' privy ' and at another as ' assembly house ' (Suhbat Khana). The Edinburgh University library has got a copy of *Tibb-i-Bahri-o-Barri,* a treatise on medicine, which, we are told by Mr. James Anderson, was compiled for his son, Champa, by the Hindu physician, Aithippa, who was attached to the dispensary at Bijapur, and had spent a long time attending upon and getting instructions from, Hakim Md. Hussain Yunāni and Hakim Md. Māsum Isphahāni. It contains a short vocabulary of some parts of the human body and some drugs with their equivalents in Arabic and Hindi. It further contains hints as to the examination of patients and symptoms and treatment of diseases. The author of *Basātin-us-salātin,* while giving an account of the Bijāpur noble, Mustafa Khan Ardastani, says that once ' the Hakim of his Dārush-Shifā ' had misplaced one ' Misqāl ' (a weight containing 4 Mashas and 3½ Pattis) of Momiyai (a kind of medicine) which fell into the hands of the menials. The same authority tells us about the skilled European physician, described as the Hippocrates of the time, named Farnalope Feranghi, who committed a mistake in administering medicine to the ailing Sultan, Ibrahim Ādil-Shah. The dying Sultan mangnanimously advised the physician to escape from his land before the worst happened. But as soon as the Sultan was dead, the Feranghi pysician was captured by Khawās Khan and his nose and lips were cut off. Nothing daunted, Farnalope returned to his house, cut off the nose and lips of one of his slaves, and so fastened the same to his own that he was soon cured even of the scars. He lived long in Bijapur and resumed his medical practice with great success.

The 17th century European travellers have also testified to the existence of hospitals, including those which had been established probably by the Jains for the sick animals in some parts of Western India. Tavernier says, ' there were in Ahmadabad two or three houses which serve as hospitals.' Elsewhere he refers to the Portuguese Hospital at Goa: ' The hospital at Goa was formerly renowned throughout India, as it possessed considerable income and sick persons were very well attended. This was still the case when I first went to Goa." He then speaks of the deterioration that had set in. John H. V. Linschoten refers to the ' king's Hospital ' where the sick white men lodged, and also says, ' the other Indians have a hospital by themselves where they are very well looked after by the Jesuits '. Ralph Fitch refers to the hospital at Cambay ' to keep dogs and cats and for birds etc.' One might refer to the evidence furnished by other visitors such as Fryer, Thevenot, Ovington, in this connection.

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THE SAMBUVARAYAS OF PADAIVIDU THEIR ROLE IN SOUTH

SHRI A. KRISHNASWAMI

The Sambuvarāya Chieftains whose lithic records are available in the present Chingleput, North and South Arcot districts, are said to have belonged to the Sañgēṇi family which was also known as Sambukula.[1] The earliest member of this dynasty came from Munuṟṟuppalli in Oymānāḍu.[2] The Sambuvarāya Chiefs had surnames like Nālayiravan, Ammaiyappan, Attimallaṉ or Attiyāṇḍān. The title 'Nālayiravan' seems to indicate the original connection which these chiefs had with a body of soldiers numbering 4,000. At first, the Sambuvarāyas worked their way up by service to their Choḷa overlords in their military campaigns against the Pāṇḍyās.[3] Their exploits are revealed in several titles assumed by them such as, 'Conqueror of the Pāṇḍya country,' 'the Peerless,' 'Victor at Cheyyāru,' 'Expert in several weapons' 'One who can show his powers' and 'Veṇṟumaṇkoṇḍān"[4] They also endeared themselves to the people by charitable acts like founding villages, building temples and towers and endowing them with rich gifts. Some of these chiefs called themselves Pallavās and assumed the titles of 'Āḷappirāndān', 'Alagiyasēēyan Pallavāṇḍān' etc., which had been assumed by the Kādava chieftain Kopperuñjinga. These common titles suggest an affinity between the Sambuvarāyas and the Kādavarāyas; but it is difficult to state whether the relations between them were political or matrimonial.[5] The Sambuvarāyas adopted the emblem of the Bull as their insignia, thus showing that they were Śaivaites in religion.

Sambuvarāya Chieftains under the Choḷas.

It is during the reign of Vikrama Choḷa (A.D. 1118—36) that we hear about the Sambuvarāya chieftains. One Señgeṇi Miṇḍan Ammai-

1. Samgukula refers to the Vanniya Kula Kshatriya caste of people who are also known as Padayachis in the Tamil country.

2. Oymanāḍu is the coastal region in the Tindivanam Taluk of South Arcot District.

3. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, No. 27.

4. *SII*, vol. I, Nos. 59 and 61.

5. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, No. 27.

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yappan Rājendra Choḷa Sambuvarāya was recognized by Vikrama Choḷa as his feudatory in the present North Arcot region. He is mentioned in four inscriptions of Vikrama Choḷa[6]. His brother was Akaḷañga Sambuvarāya who had provided the Śiva temple at Madurāntakam (Chingleput Dt.) with 96 sheep for setting up a perpetual lamp.[7] The son of Rājendra Choḷa Sambuvarāya was Vikrama Choḷa Sambuvarāya who was a feudatory under Kulottuñga II and he had provided the temples at Tiruvallam and Choḷapuram with endowments.[8]

During the reign of Rājarāja II (1146—1163) we hear about two Sambuvarāya chieftains, Ammaiyappan Sēeyan Pallavāṇḍan and Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya. The former was also known as Nittavinōda Sambuvarāya and his wife Sorudaiyāḷ had donated 32 cows for a perpetual lamp to the Śiva temple at Brahmadēśam in South Arcot district.[9] Rājanārayaṇa Sambuvarāya possessed the Pādikāval right of the present Chingleput district and he had made endowments to the temple at Achiruppākkam and Munnur. Another Sambuarāya during the period of Rājādhirāja II was Ammaiyappan Edirili Choḷa Sambuvarāya who held the Pādikāval right of a part of Toṇdaimaṇḍalam.[10] He had bestowed the village of Ārppākkam with 167 *velis* of land on one Umāpatidēva Gñanaśivadēvar who did extreme penance for twenty-eight days with a view to drive the Ceylonese forces which had landed in the Choḷa country in A.D. 1168.[11]

When Kulottuṅga III was the Choḷa monarch we hear about three Sambuvarāya chieftains namely Ammaiyappan Pāṇḍiyanaḍukoṇḍān Kaṇḍān Suriyan Sambuvarāya, Señgeṇimiṇḍan Vikrama Choḷa Sambuvarāya and Pallavāṇḍān Kulottuṅga Choḷa Sambuvarāya.[12] The title 'Conqueror of the Pāṇḍya country' or Pāṇḍyanādu Koṇḍān was conferred on the first of the above chieftains by Kulottuṅga II in appreciation of his services in leading the Choḷa army against the Pāṇḍyas.[13] An inscription from Tiruvakkarai (South Arcot Dt.) mentions that he caused to be erected a tower and a thousand pillared hall in the temple of that place.[14] A record from Eṇṇāyiram mentions that this Sambuvaraya also constructed a maṇḍapa in the Śiva temple.[15] From another record from the same place we know that the second tower

6. 63 of 1900, 232 of 1921, 400 and 422 of 1922.
7. T. V. S. Pandarattar, *Later Cholas*, vol. II, p. 89.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
9. No. 168 of 1918.
10. 421 of 1922.
11. *SII*, vol. VI, No. 456.
12. Pandarattar, *op.cit.*, pp. 177-78.
13. *Ibid.*
14. 190 of 1904.
15. 345 of 1917.

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in the temple was his donation.[16] In A.D. 1190 he made a gift of jewels to the God at Achiruppākkam. Señgeṇimiṇḍan Vikrama Choḷa Sambuvarāya is mentioned in several inscriptions of Kulottuṅga III and those inscriptions mention his various gifts to the temples.

During the reign of Rājarāja III (1216—1256) we know about several Sambuvarāya chieftains such as Aḷagiyacholaṃ Sambuvarāya, Edicholaṃ Sambuvarāya and Vīrapperumaḷ Kulottuṅgacholaṃ Sambuvarāya.[17] Some of these Sambuvarāya chieftains seem to have entered into a political compact with Kopperuñjiṅga, the Kādava chieftain and Rājarāja Sethirāan of Tirukkovalur against Rājarāja III.[18] Rājarāja III was succeeded by his son Rājendra III, the last Choḷa monarch who is said to have conquered northern Lanka or Mavilañgai. This Mavilañgai could be identified with the ancient home of the Sambuvarāyas, Oymānāḍu in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam which was also known as Mavilaṅgai.[19] This war against the Sambuvarāyas was an attempt of Rājendra III to subjugate the Sambuvarāya chieftain to his power again. With the help of the Telugu Choḍa chieftain Gaṇḍa Gopāla Rājendra III defeated the Sambuvarāya in about A.D. 1252 and forced him to accept his supremacy.[20]

The Sambuvarāyas under the Pāṇḍyas.

The victory which Rājendra III won over the Sambuvarāya chieftain was not of any material benefit to him. In A.D. 1257 Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I invaded the Choḷa country and defeated not only Rājendra III but also his ally Vīrasomeśvara, the Hoysaḷa ruler. Vīrasomeśvara was defeated and killed at the battle of Kaṇṇanur in A.D. 1264.[21] Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I brought under his rule the Kadava and Sambuvarāya chieftains. Thus the Sambuvarāya's attempt to become independent was foiled by the Pāṇḍya ruler. From about A.D. 1264 to 1310 till the assassination of Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya, the Sambuvarāyas were the feudatories of the Pāṇḍyas. An inscription from Vedal (North Arcot Dt.) mentions an order issued by one Kulaśekhara Sambuvarāya.[22] It is inferable from the title 'Kulaśekhara' that the Sambuvarāya was subject to the power of Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya. When Malik Kafur and other Muslims invaded the Tamil country after A.D. 1310 and when Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya engaged themselves in a terrible civil war, the Sambuvarāya

16. 183 of 1918.
17. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, No. 27.
18. Pandarattar, *op.cit.*, p. 204.
19. *Purananuru*, Poem No. 176.
20. *EI*, vol. XXVIII, No. 27.
21. Pandarattar, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
22. No. 77 of 1908.

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chieftains seem to have achieved their long-cherished ambition of independence. And we hear about two great Sambuvarāya rulers, Sakalalōkachakravarti Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya and his son Rājanārayaṇa Sambuvarāya.

Who was Vira Champa ?

Mr. S. Tiruvenkatachari in his translation of the *Madhuravijayam* mentions that Kulaśekhara Sambuvarāya ruled from A.D. 1278 to 1304 and was succeeded by Vīra Champa who was also known as Rājanārāyaṇa Mallinātha.[23] He also suggests that Vīra Champa was the son of Kulaśekhara Sambuvarāya. But he has not mentioned the original authorities for such an assumption. It seems that he has based his conclusion on two Sanskrit inscriptions of one Vīra Champa which are found in two temples, one at Tiruvallam in North Arcot District and the other in the Arulāḷapperumāḷ temple at Kanchi.[24] These two inscriptions dated Śaka 1236 (A.D. 1314) mention a chief called Vīra Champa who was the son of a Choḷa king. The second record mentions the name of the Choḷa king as Vīracholа. This Vīra Champa had the title ' Nidravasanavijayi ' (victorious at the completion of sleep) and he had a minister called Vanabhid and a guru or an ascetic-friend named Jñānamūrti.

There is nothing in these two inscriptions to show that Vīra Champa belonged to the Sambuvarāya family. None of the Sambuvarāya Chieftains call themselves as descendants of a Choḷa king in their inscriptions. All the inscriptions of the Sambuvarāya chieftains and rulers are in Tamil and none of them had the title of ' Nidravasanavijayi '. The name of the minister Vanabhid is not found in any other Sambuvarāya inscriptions. Then, how are we to accept the view that Vīra Champa was the successor of Kulaśekhara Sambuvarāya and the predecessor of Ekambaranātha Sambuvarāya alias Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍāṉ ? Vīra Champa seems to have belonged to a different dynasty and it is not possible to accept the view of Mr. Tiruvenkatachari without further evidence. Further, Mr. Tiruvenkatachari believes that the Tamil poets Irattaiyars in their work called *Ekāmbaranāthar Ula* refer to the gift of a car to the Arulāḷapperumāḷ temple at Kanchi.[25] This is a mistaken interpretation. The Irattaiyars refer only to the gift of a car to the Ekāmbaranātha temple by Mallinātha Sambuvarāya who was evidently Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya, the son of Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍāṉ. The Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ inscription of Vīra Champa only refers to his gift of a car to the Vishṇu temple and not to the Ekāmbaranātha temple.

23. *Madhuravijayam* (Translated and edited by S. Tiruvenkatachari), p. 12.
24. *EI*, vol III, pp. 70-71.
25. Tiruvenkatachari, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

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Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarattar has proved from literary evidence that the Irattaiyars were patronised by Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ and his son Rājanārāyaṇa and not by Vīra Champa.[26] Therefore, Vīra Champa did not belong to the Sambuvarāya dynasty and he was not in any way connected with the Sambuvarāya rulers after Kulaśekhara Sambuvarāya.

Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Ekambaranātha Sambuvarāya (*c.* 1321—1337).

The glorious period of the Sambuvarāyas may be said to have begun with 'Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ' who also assumed the title of Sakalalōka-chakravarti. There are only eight inscriptions of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍaṉ and they are distributed in the present North Arcot and Chingleput districts. Therefore, he carved out a small state consisting of these two districts and became an independent ruler. But we do not know from whom this territory was conquered by Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍān. Mr. S. Tiruvenkatachari suggests that he captured Kanchi and the surrounding region from the Kākatiya general Muppidi Nāyaka who was in occupation of the city having taken it from the Kerala ruler Ravivarman, till about the accession of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍān.[27] It is true that the Kākatiya army under Muppidi Nāyaka captured and occupied Kanchi in A.D. 1316.[28] But the question is whether Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ actually conquered the region from the Kākatiyas. There is no evidence in his inscriptions to prove that he conquered the territory from the Kākatiyas. His records only mention his title Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ without mentioning why or how he assumed the title. It is probable that he drove the remnants of the Kākatiya army from the region and then assumed the title of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ.

The date of his accession could be fixed on the basis of one of his inscriptions. A record from Valayattur (N.A.Dt.) dated 8th September 1338 mentions that it was inscribed in his 17th regnal year.[29] Therefore, the accession date of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ is A.D. 1321. But we know nothing about his parents, and for reasons already mentioned we cannot regard him as the son or successor of Vīra Champa. Another record from Kuṉṟathūr (Chingleput Dt.) dated in his 2nd regnal year mentions a gift of land to the temple by one Aḷagiyaperumāḷkalingarāyan.[30] But, there are no inscriptions of his, so far available, upto his 14th regnal year, *i.e.*, from A.D. 1323 to 1335. This was the period when Muhammad-Bin-Tughlaq became the Sultan of Delhi, invaded and conquered the

26. Pandarattar, *A History of Tamil literature in 13th and 14th centuries*, p. 72.

27. Tiruvenkatachari, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

28. R. Sathianathaier, vol. II, p. 86.

29. No. 29 of 1934 dated Śaka 1260, 17th regnal year Kanni, ba 8, Tuesday, Tiruvadirai (8th Sept. 1338).

30. No. 206 of 1930.

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Tamil country, and Madura became the head-quarters of the province of Ma'bar (1325–1335). Dr. Venkataramanayya attributes the absence of Hindu inscriptions during this period to the Muslim invasion and conquest of the Tamil country.[31] In 1327 Srirangam was invaded by the Muslims according to the *Koilolugu*. Therefore, the Toṇdaimaṇḍalam region was under Muslim occupation from about 1325–till the Muslims were defeated and driven away by Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ in A.D. 1337. A record from Kil-minnal (N.A. Dt.) dated in 16 plus 1st year of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ mentions that the village was converted into an Añjinan Puhalidam (refugee colony) to protect the refugees who had lost everything as a result of the Muslim invasion.[32] Here the date 16 plus 1st year is a knotty problem and it is difficult to explain it. Dr. Venkataramanayya is of opinion that Ekāmbaranātha Sambuvarāya assumed the title of 'Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ' after defeating and driving out the Muslims.[33] But we know that inscriptions give him this title even from the second year of his accession, *i.e.*, from A.D. 1323. The title 'Sakalalōkachakravarti' though a very ambitious one, seems to have been added to that of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ after his victory over the Muslims. For two of his records dated after his 16th regnal year mention the latter title, whereas the earlier records do not give him that pompous epithet. Therefore, it was the title of Sakalalokachakravarti that Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ assumed after his victory over the Muslims.

Mr. Tiruvenkatachari attributes several beneficient activities of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ for the welfare of his subjects such as rehabilation of refugees, construction of houses in Tirumadavilagams, provision of water sheds, encouragement of handicrafts, restoration of temples, etc. But it must be pointed out that Ekāmbaranātha did not continue to rule for a long time after reconquering his Kingdom from the Muslims. It may be said that he inaugurated the above welfare activities which were continued and completed by his more famous son Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya. The latest inscription of Ekāmbaranātha Sambuvarāya is dated 19th June 1339.[34] Two records from Kuttiyam (N.A. Dt.) are helpful in fixing the last date of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ. The first of these records registers the grant of the village of Kuttiyam alias Rājanārāyaṇaṉallur, free of taxes, as Gangagamanaviruti to one Elumbōdhan Gangaiyādi Mādavaiyyan for having carried the ashes of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ to be immersed in the river Ganges and performing Śrāddha at Gaya.[35] It is dated Karkaṭaka, Śu, 13, Friday, Rohini without the name of the

31. *JMU*, 'Ma'bar', pp. 43-54.
32. *MER*, 1934, Para 22.
33. *Early Muslim expansion in South India*, p. 202.
34. No. 46 of 1900.
35. No. 32 of 1934.

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cyclic or śaka years. So, the date may be only approximately fixed as 6th July 1339. The next inscription dated in the 3rd year of Rājanārāyaṇa in the Tamil month of Adi, registers the gift of four *velis* of land free of taxes, for offerings and worship etc. to God Ekāmbaranātha, consecrated by Elumbodhan mentioned above, in memory of Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍāṇ Sambuvarāya.[36] It seems, according to this inscription, that Rājanārayana Sambuvarāya was associated with his father in the duties of administration three years before his actual accession to the throne after the death of his father. The first record of Rājanārāyaṇa is dated in 'the third year' which only means that he was a joint ruler with his father from A.D. 1336. So, his third year is A.D. 1339, but it was also the date of his actual accession. The Tamil month of Adi normally corresponds to July-August months. Therefore Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍāṇ died on a date between June and July 1339.

Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya (*A.D.* 1339-1363).

The main sources for the history of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya are his lithic inscriptions and the Sanskrit work, *Madhuravijayam* of Gangadevi. There are 89 incriptions of Rājanārāyaṇa's period and they are found in the three districts of North Arcot, Chingleput and portions of South Arcot. Of these 89 records 33 are in North Arcot, 38 in Chingleput and 18 in South Arcot. From the location of these inscriptions we can fix the extent of his Kingdom. Veṇṛumaṇkoṇḍāṇ's inscriptions are found in the districts of North Arcot and Chingleput only. Whereas Rājanārayaṇa's records are found in the present South Arcot district also. But none of his records is found south of the river Gadilam which runs between Cuddalore N.A. and Tiruvadigai in S.A.Dt. Therefore, the Sambuvarāya kingdom included the two full districts of North Arcot and Chingleput and the South Arcot district excluding Cuddalore and Chidambaram Taluks. The capital of this state was Virinchipuram on the northern bank of the river Pālār, whereas Padaividu was the stronghold with a fortress on a hill called Rājagambīranmalai. Rājagambīra was one of the titles of Rājanārāyaṇa and so his Kingdom was also called Rājagambīrarājyam.

Besides this title of Rājagambīra, Rājanārāyaṇa is mentioned in his inscriptions with three other surnames such as Mallināṭha,[37] Ponnaiyan, Udāraguṇarāma[38] and Ponnintambiran.[39] Some of the villages and towns within his kingdom were named after Rājanārāyaṇa. Kudanagaram in North Arcot Dt. was a refugee colony founded by

36. No. 33 of 1934.
37. No. 202 of 1921.
38. No. 28 of 1934.
39. *MER*, 1934, para 22 ; 354 of 1911.

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Rājanārāyaṇa and so it was called Rājanārāyaṇanpeṭṭai.[40] Sadras near Mahabalipuram was known as Rājanārāyaṇan paṭṭinam.[41]

Some of the officers of Rājanārāyaṇa and their duties are found described in his records. Toṇḍama Nāyaka was a royal officer at Osur (Wandiwash Taluk) who communicated an order of the ruler to the Vāriyam and Karanattān of the villages of Osur and Sirukalattur.[42] A record from Tiruppalaivanam (Chingleput Dt.) mentions one Tikkama Nāyakar who issued an order for the repair of the temple in the village.[43] A customs officer by name Arasurudaiyan Dannāyaka is mentioned in an inscription from Gidangal in Villupuram Taluk.[44]

Rehabilitation of temples.

The most beneficient service which Rājanārāyaṇa rendered to the people of his Kingdom was the restoration of temples to their ancient splendour. Religious and cultural institutions such as the temples and monasteries had been wantonly desecrated by the Muslim invaders. So it became the primary responsibility of both Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ and his son to endow the temples with plenty of gifts and to restore worship, services and festivals in them. Almost all of the inscriptions of Rājanārāyaṇa mention his beneficient donations to temples both Śaivite and Vaishṇavite, and gifts to Brahmaṇas. A long list of temples which received the munificence of Rājanārāyaṇa may be given. The Vedapuriśvara temple at Tiruvattiyur (N.A.Dt.) received an endowment in the 18th year of the ruler.[45] Three records from the Vaśishteśvara temple at Veppur mention that the taxes on the newly constructed houses were made over to the temple for repairs and maintenance.[46] Temples at Vadamahādevamaṅgalam, Paḷankoil and Valaiyattur in North Arcot District enjoyed his munificence. Many temples in Chingleput district such as those at Tiruppalaivanam, Tiruvoṟṟiyur, Mahabalipuram, Sadras, Kuṉṟathur, Tiruppulivanam, Tiruvanaikkoil, Sevallimedu and Kāñchipuram received rich and permanent endowments. In South Arcot district the temples in the following places were repaired, services revived and festivals inaugurated : Tiruvāmattur, Irumbai, Devanur, Tirukkovalur, Nerkunam and Arakandanallur.

Local Government and Administration of Justice.

Local institutions such as the Uravar, Assembly (Sabha) and the Nāḍu which played a prominent part during the Choḷa period have not

40. 59 of 1934.
41. 103 of 1933.
42. 73 of 1921 ; 86 of 1934.
43. 377 of 1923.
44. *SII*, vol. VII, No. 855.
45. Nos. 113, 113, 120 of 1940.
46. 499 of 1926.

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completely disappeared during the Sambuvarāya period. The *variyam* or the village committee of Osur is mentioned. The assembly or the Sabha of Kangayanallur bought lands from private individuals. The Uravar of Sadras carried out an order issued by Rājanārāyaṇa.

An inscription from Tiruvoṛṛiyur dated in the 7th year of Rājanārāyaṇa is historically very important. It mentions that before his accession the region around Madras was occupied by the Muslims, and in order to protect the idols and treasures of the temple at Tiruvorriyur they were buried underground by the Trustees. But some dishonest persons had misappropriated the treasures. These miscreants were traced by the King's officers and their lands and houses were confiscated to the temple. (203 of 1912). Another record from the same temple dated in the 5th year of Rājanārāyaṇa refers to a settlement of dispute among the servants of the temple ; the Ishabattaliyar and Devaradyars and the Padiyilar. It is stated that the Padiyilar had become extinct during the office of one Vanarayar in the reign of Sundara Pāṇḍya devar 'who took every country.' We are informed by the record that the Mudaliyar of the Bikshamatha presiding, the Maheśvaras, the trustees and the Nattar, the Vīrasola Anukkur and the Kaikkolas of the temple met in the Vyākarṇa maṇḍapa and settled the disputes among the Ishabattaliyars and Devaradiyars. Those who disobeyed the terms of the agreement were to be adjudged traitors to Śiva, their district, community and creed. (MER, 1913, Para 67). From two inscriptions at Tirupulivanam (Chingleput Dt.) we know about the settlement of an irrigation dispute between two villages during the 6th and 7th years of Rājanārāyaṇa. A channel irrigating the villages of Uttaramerur and Tiruppulivanam was the cause of a dispute between the villages. The matter was amicably settled by arbitration and it was agreed that the canal should irrigate Tiruppulivanam, Mappandar, Pundi and Uttaramerur.

Period of Rājanārāyaṇa's rule.

Mr. Tiruvenkatachari is of opinion that Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya ruled only up to A.D. 1359.[47] This conclusion has been arrived at without using the latest epigraphical sources. The latest inscription of Rājanārāyaṇa is dated in his 26th year. The record contains astronomical details such as Subakirutu, Mesha Śu. Wednesday, Rohiṇi and these details yield the correct date of Wednesday 30th March 1362.[48] Therefore, Rājanārāyaṇa ruled from July 1339 to March 1362. But this period amounts only to 23 years. Since we have already seen that he was connected with the administration of the kingdom for three

47. Tiruvenkatachari, *op.cit.*, p. 24.
48. No. 162 of 1940.

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years during the lifetime of his father, the span of 26 years of rule mentioned in the above inscription must be taken as a correct one.

Another debatable question that Mr. Tiruvenkatachari raises is that Rājanārāyaṇa was succeeded by his son called Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ II and it was this Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ II who was defeated by Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa of Vijayanagar. But he does not mention the original sources for these views. There are no Sambuvarāya inscriptions after A.D. 1362 which mention the name of Veṉṟumaṉkoṇḍāṉ II. An inscription from Thaiyur in Chingleput district is dated 18th July 1363. It registers a Sarvamānya grant of certain taxes by Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa for worship and repairs to the Śiva temple at Thaiyur. The order regarding the grant was issued by Somappa Daṇḍanāyaka in accordance with the written request of *Rājanārāyaṇa*.[49] What is the significance of this record? It only means that it was from Rājanārāyaṇa that Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa conquered the Padividu Kingdom, and that he was alive on 18th July 1363. The Sambuvarāya Kingdom was conquered by Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa from Rājanārāyaṇa between 30th March 1362 and 18th July 1363. Nor can we believe the statement of Gangadevi in her *Madhuravijayam* that the Sambuvarāya was killed in a duel by Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa. For there is epigraphical evidence to prove that Rājanārāyaṇa was made prisoner at the siege of Padaiviḍu and that he was allowed to rule Padaiviḍu as a feudatory of Vijayanagara as long as he lived.[50]

49. No. 226 of 1916.
50. No. 267 of 1919.

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WAS RAMESWARAM RAIDED BY MALIK KAFUR?

DR. SUKUMAR RAY

There is still a controversy among historians about the question whether Malik Naib Kafur did raid Rameswaram or march as far as the southern coast. Sewell, writing in 1900, was the first scholar to doubt the possibility of Malik Naib Kafur's invasion of Rameswaram.[1] Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, who discussed the question at great length in his book *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, 1921, pp. 100-101, 118, came to the conclusion that Malik Naib carried his raid from Madura as far south as Rameswaram. He reiterates the same view in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, 1928, p. 487 as well as in his Introduction to Professor Habib's translation of the *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, 1931, p. xxxviii. Sir Wolseley Haig also states in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 116, that Malik Naib marched to the southern coast and built a mosque either at Rameswaram or on the mainland opposite to it. The latest writers on the subject, Dr. Venkataramanayya and Dr. K. S. Lal, are of opinion that Malik Kafur did not raid Rameswaram but retraced his steps from Madura.[2] Dr. Derrett, however, in his recent work (*The Hoysaḷas*, 1957) refers to Malik Naib's building a mosque at Rameswaram.

No contemporary writer gives any account of Malik Kafur's invasion of Rameswaram. Neither Barani nor Isami nor Wassaf refers to the raid; nor is there any mention of it in the *Khazain-ul-Futuh* which describes the wars of Ala-ud-din in great details. But in a later work, the *Ashiqa*, Amir Khusrav hints at the invasion against Vīra Pāṇḍya up to the coast of Ceylon and of Malik Naib's attack on Patan which Dr. Aiyangar identifies with one of the Pattinams: Rameswarapattinam which is also called Pattinam merely or Periapattinam or another Pattinam on the opposite coast of India. Dr. Lal states that Dr. Aiyangar thinks that Barmatpuri which, according to Amir Khusrav, Malik Naib raided can be identified with Rameswaram.[3] But so far as I have been able to gather, Dr. Aiyangar suggests the identification

1. *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 41-42.

2. Venkataramanayya, *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 69; K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, pp. 369-71.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 368.

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of Patan with Rameswaram[4]. There are, however, on the sea coast other Patans like Kaveripattanam and Nagapatan, as Dr. Lal rightly points out. Patan is, of course, described by Amir Khusrav as the seat of Vīra Pāṇḍya's residence and a careful comparison of the Ma'bar invasion in the *Khazain-ul-Futuh* and the *Ashiqa* suggests the conclusion that Patan and Birdhul are the same place and the headquarters of Vīra Pāṇḍya. We do not know if Rameswaram was ever so. Therefore we cannot be sure about the identification of Patan with Rameswaram; out in view of Amir Khusrav's hint at the invasion up to the shores of Ceylon, the identification with Rameswaram is possible.

The statement of a later historian, the reputed Ferishta, who wrote early in the seventeenth century, supports this identification to a certain extent. Ferishta refers to the building of a mosque at Sit Band Ramesar by Malik Naib where he read the *khutba* in Ala-ud-din's name.[5] This Sit Band Ramesar would obviously mean Rameswara or Rameswaram in Pamnan, but this identification is negatived by Ferishta himself who locates it on the coast of the Sea of Uman, *i.e.*, the Arabian Sea in the vicinity of the port of Dvārasamudra. Briggs has accordingly identified Sit Band Rameswar with Cape Ramas below Goa and Dr. Venkataramanyya has come to the conclusion that Malik Kafur did not raid Rameswaram and advance beyound Madura. Dr. Aiyangar as well concludes that it (Sit Band Ramesar of Ferishta) 'cannot therefore refer to Rameswaram by any stretch of language' and raises 'the question whether Rameswaram or that region was ever at all invaded by Malik Kafur.' He accordingly based his thesis that Malik Naib carried his raid as far south as Rameswaram on Amir Khusrav's reference in the *Ashiqa* to his invasion up to the shores of Ceylon and the somewhat uncertain identification of Patan with Rameswaram.

Both Dr. Aiyangar and Dr. Venkataramanayya have overlooked the fact that Ferishta, while locating Sit Band Ramesar on the coast of the Arabian Sea in his account of the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji, definitely locates it in the farthest south, six hundred kos (kuroh) from Vijayanagar, in his account of Mujahid Shah, the Bahmani king, and further states that Karnatak in length from north to south, from the Krishna to Sit Band Rameswar, is six hundred kos (kurohs). He adds that Mujahid Shah visited the place and repaired a mosque built by Ala-ud-din Khalji's officers.[6] Ferishta's location of Sit Band Rameswar on the coast of the Arabian Sea and reference to it in connection with Malik

4. Introduction to Habib's translation of the *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. XXXVIII.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Newul Kishore text), vol. I, p. 119 and (Bomby text), p. 210.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Newul Kishore text), vol.I, pp. 297-99 and (Bomby text), pp. 567-70.

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Naib's invasion of the western coast is the result of a confusion. The short duration of his stay at Dvarasamudra makes rather improbable his invasion of the western coast and his building a mosque there.

In view of the above it is possible to conclude that Malik Kafur advanced as far as Rameswaram and raided its temple, even if we cannot be sure about the identification of Amir Khusrav's Patan with Rameswaram. Haji Dabir, the senior contemporary of Ferishta, vaguely refers to this in embellished form when he refers to Malik Naib's march to Ceylon and demolishing a temple there.[7] A raid from Madura to Rameswaram was not quite improbable for the great invader who had marched a long way from Delhi. Even if Malik Naib could not have found time to build a mosque there, the possibility of a raid cannot be altogether ruled out.

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7. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, p. 156.

TIMUR'S VISITATION OF DELHI

Dr. K. S. Lal

In 1398 Amir Timur of Transoxiana decided upon an invasion of India. After the conquest of the whole of Central Asian region up to Moscow (which, however, escaped his visitation) it was natural for any conqueror, dreaming of world conquest, to turn his attention to the east. Moreover, with the capture of Baghdad, Timur had drawn too near the powers of the west. The angry Bayazid, supported by Turkoman and Syrian Arabs, forbad any movement westward. So Timur thought of moving eastward wherefrom his grandson was already sending frantic appeals for help. In 1397 Amir Timur had given to his grandson Pir Muhammad, son of Jahangir,[1] then a mere lad of fifteen, the provinces of Qunduz, Baqlan, Kabul, Ghazni and Qandhar 'with all the dependencies as far as the confines of Hind.'[2] Withal the prince had been encouraged to proceed further into India. He had crossed the Indus and had assaulted and taken the city of Uchch in Rabiul Avval 800 (November—December 1397),[3] but at Multan he had received a check. Necessity of succour to Pir Muhammad provided the reason for march to India.

This was the immediate and the real cause. However, contemporary writers have made virtue of necessity and have declared that Timur marched into India to destroy infidels and idolaters.[4] Another important reason seems to be the sorry state into which the country had been brought by the successors of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. It had been reported to Timur by his secret agents that the perpetual infancy of Sultan Mahmud was despised 'even in the harem of Delhi', while two brothers Sarang Khan and Mallu Khan wielded authority at Multan

1. Pir Muhammad (d. A. D. 809) was the son of Ghayāsuddīn Jahangīr (d. A.D. 797), the son of Timur.

Lanepoole, *The Muhammadan Dynasties*, Table facing p. 268. *Tarīkh-i-Mubarak Shāhī*, Bib. Ind. (hereafter as *TMS*), p. 162 wrongly calls him *nabsa* or daughter's son.

2. *Zafarnāmah* by Sharafuddīn Yazdī Bib. Ind. (hereafter as *ZN*) vol. II, p. 14. *Rauzat-us-Safā*, Newul Kishore Publication (hereafter as *RS*), vol. VI, p. 100.

3. *TMS*, p. 162.

4. *ZN*, vol. II, p. 15; *Tuzuk-i-Timurī* (hereafter as *TT*), in *ED*, vol. III, pp. 394-95.

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and Delhi respectively.[5] Then India contained fabulous wealth. However, the most probable reason was the difficulty Pir Muhammad was facing at Multan.

Timur left Samarqand in Rajjab 800 (March 1398)[6] and started off for India with a host of 92,000 strong.[7] Attacking places on the way, with or without reason, he crossed the Indus on 12th Muharram 801 (24th September, 1398). On his way south-eastward he sacked Tamulba and Bhatnir and comforted his grandson. Early in December he was in Delhi.

On the 2nd of Rabiul Akhir (11th December) the Amir set out with about 700 horsemen to decide on the site of the battle against Sultan Mahmud. Crossing the Jumna near the present waterworks at Wazirabad, Timur inspected the environs of Jahan Numah and decided to fight on the field, now situated near the Wellington aerodrome. In the meantime Mallu Khan, who was watching the movements of Timur, delivered a surprize attack. Not only did the attack fail to bear any fruit, but it actually resulted in a very unfortuanate incident.

During the skirmish with Mallu Khan the prisoners in the camp of Timur, which numbered about a hundred thousand, had exhibited jubilance; and it was feared that on the day of the final battle, when Timur's army would be completely engrossed in war, the prisoners would break their bonds and make common cause with the Indian army. Timur knew that the prisoner could not be let off; they certainly could create trouble and they were Hindus. He, therefore, took a sanguinary but quick decision to do away with them. Consequently he sent out an order that whosoever had Hindu prisoners in his charge should make short work of them, enjoining that those who neglected to do so would themselves be executed. It took no time to kill unarmed and defenceless captives and about 50,000 men were massacred in cold blood. (3rd Rabiul Akhir, 12th December,1398).[8]

The figure of the massacred has been exaggerated by foreign chroniclers. Sharafuddin says that on a very conservative estimate (*bar ravāyat-i-iql*) a hundred thousand Hindus were put to the sword. In the *Tuzuk*, Timur also has one lac. Mir Khond says the same thing.[9]

5. *ZN*, vol. II, pp. 14-15; *R.S*, vol. VI, p. 100; *TMS*, pp. 158-59.

6. *ZN*, vol. II, p. 17.

7. Sykes, *History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 207; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Everyman's Giant Edition), vol. II, p. 1238; *ZN*, vol. II, p. 18 has 'more numerous than the leaves of the forest or the drops of rain.' Also *TT* (Bombay text), p. 72.

8. *ZN*, vol. II, p. 92.

9. *ZN*, vol. II, p. 92; *TT* in *ED*, vol. III, p. 436; *RS*, vol. VI, p. 190, 7.

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But this figure receives a challenge at the hands of Indian historians. Sharafuddīn, before giving the details of the massacre, says that by the time Timur reached Delhi, 'more or less' a hundred thousand prisoners had been captured.[10] According to the same authority, these included women and children also.[11] According to all writers, including Yazdi himself, only men above the age of fifteen were killed; women and children were spared. Thus the massacred could not certainly have been a hundred thousand. Mir khond copies Yazdi verbatim, but he could see through the mistake and while following Yazdi in every other detail, takes care to say that 'more than a lac Hindus had been enslaved.'[12] But Indian writers, whose sources in all probability included the above writings also, have a different story to tell. Nizāmuddīn says that between the Indus and the Ganga about 50,000 people had been taken captive.[13] The number of the killed accordingly must have been less than this. Yahya and Badaoni put the number of the killed at 50,000.[14]

Thus the unfortunate prisoners who lost their lives on that sanguinary day were about fifty thousand and not one hundred housand. Yazdi and his followers have inflated the figure in all probability to bestow honour upon the conqueror. Little did they realise that by exaggerating the ghastliness of the deed they were only discrediting their hero in the eyes of posterity. Of some of the modern writers, Malcolm condemns Timur for his massacre, while Sykes tries to excuse him by saying: 'awful though it was, it was dictated by imperative military exigencies.'[15] We must not forget that Timur belonged to an age where mercy was usually looked upon as a sign of weakness. As a modern biographer of his has written: 'At Agincourt, the English killed French prisoners in order to rid of them for the final phase of the battle; at Nicopolis, the English, German and French Crusaders massacred the Serbian and Turkish prisoners for the battle. The massacres ordered by Timur differed only in being on a large scale.'[16]

Before entering upon the final engagement, Timur addressed his officers, elaborated upon his scheme of action and instructed them about their tasks. He did not want 'the war of a long cont'nuance.'[17] The experience of Pīr Muhammad at Multan, the strategy of the Mughals

10. *ZN*, vol. II, p. 92.
11. *ZN*, vol. II, pp. 92-93.
12. *RS*, vol. VI, pp. 109, 7.
13. T. A. De, p. 279.
14. *TMS*, p. 165; Badaoni (Ranking), vol. I, p. 356; Ferishta, (Newul Kishore text), vol. I, p. 158 has one lac.
15. Sykes, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 214.
16. Harold Lamp, *Tamerlane, the Earth Shaker*, pp. 280-81.
17. *TT* in *ED*, vol. III, p. 437.

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against 'Alāuddīn Khaljī and the debacle of Tarmāshīrīn must have convinced Timur of the futility of wasting time in sieges in India. He had not besieged Talumba and he did not want to besiege Delhi. So he manouvred the battle to be fought on the plain. He crossed the Jumna on Sunday the 5th Rabiul Akhir[18] (14th December) and encamped on the plains of Firozabad near the hill of the pushta-bihali, site of the present Wellington aerodrome. The encampment was made secure by digging trenches, felling trees and erecting palisades and with all kinds of facines and gabions. This elaborate entrechment was done not only for the purposes of security but also to lure the enemy into the plains by giving him an appearance of uncertainty and fear.[19]

The unlucky Sultan Mahmud also had prepared for the battle, although his preparation was not adequate for defeating a general like Timur with his host of ninety-two thousand men. Mahmud's whole force consisted of 10,000 cavalry, 40,000 infantry and 125 elephants.[20] The sultan traditionally relied too much on elephants—the animate tanks of medieval India. 'They were trained in war as famous for their power as rankbrakers (*saf-shikan*) and cavalry dispersers,'[21] but his infantry was wretched having been drawn from amongst the Gujar and Jat peasants and Meo robbers. Their favourite weapon was the bamboo staff, though many of them carried a rusty sword also, while the archers amongst them were ineffective.[22]

Consequently the battle of December 16, 1398 resulted in the collapse of the Delhi army and the flight of its king. The army had failed but it had fought bravely. Timur and Sharafuddīn give it due praise.[23] Next morning the conqueror's flag was hoisted on the walls of Delhi and drums were beaten to proclaim the new regime. The victory over, Amir Timur, who was sixty-three and was to live for only-six years more, immersed himself in 'pleasure and enjoyment'.[24]

The soldiers of a medieval army of invasion, given to loot and plundering, had been denied a chance of sacking Delhi by the flight of its king, the surrender of the keys of the city and the promise of peace to the metropolis by the conqueror. Timur's army had looted all the Indian cities they had passed through, but now before the greatest and

18. *ZN*, vol II, p. 96, *TT* in *ED*, vol. III, p. 437 and *RS*, Vol. VI, p. 109 have the above date. Ferishta mistakingly puts it a month later as 5th Jamadiul Avval (vol. I, p. 158) and continues the mistake for subsequent events.

19. *Tuzuk* (Bombay text), p. 74.

20. *ZN*, vol. II, p. 83.

21. Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India*, *The Hindustan Standard*, March 21, 1954.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *TT* in *ED*, vol. III, p. 441 ; *ZN*, vol. II, p. 107.

24. *ZN*, vol. II, pp. 119-20.

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richest city of Hindustan, they had been denied the pleasure of satiating their greed. This situation was impossible. Meanwhile revenue officials had been busy collecting the ransom fixed upon the city and the Turkish and Mughal soldiers had entered the gates of Delhi and were amusing themselves at the expense of the 'infidels'. Some had gone there as an escort to Timur's consort Chaplan Malik Agha who wanted to have a view of the palace of the thousand pillars, others had gone to help in the collection of ransom and for obtaining provisions. Their rowdy behaviour compelled some to fight the ruffians. This still more infuriated the 'fierce Turki soldiers'.[25] The flame of strife soon spread everywhere—in Jahan Panah, in Siri and in old Delhi. No body perhaps dared inform Timur of the gravity of the sitaution for fear of disturbing him in his five-day pleasure programme.[26] On Thursday and the following night nearly 15,000 soldiers were engaged inside the city—slaying, plundering, destroying. On the morning of Friday the soldiers who were outside Delhi too were tempted to share the gains of their compatriots and rushed into the unfortunate city. The killing and looting went on without a break on the next two days, Friday and Saturday. Of gold and silver in coins and bullion, ornaments of the women captives, precious stones and finest fabrics of all kinds were obtained in immense quantities. Even the booty in human flesh and blood was enormous; for each soldier had secured from fifty to a hundred prisoners, and there was no man who had captured less than twenty.[27] At last Amir Timur woke up to the situation but only to complete whatever had been spared by the soldiers. Not being able to check his soldiery, he was enraged to learn that the Hindus had resisted from being looted, dishonoured and imprisoned. On Sunday the 19th he ordered Amir Shah Malik and Ali Sultan Tawachi to enter the city and finish off the people who had taken shelter in the Jama Masjid. After this came the turn of old Delhi which was given to rapine and massacre.

The massacre over, the captives were counted and graded. All the artisans, skilled mechanics, craftsmen and builders were ordered to be taken home, for building a Jama Masjid at Samarqand, capital of Timur's empire which the Amir loved to decorate.

The horrible sack of Delhi was a crime as barbarous as it was unwarranted. Timur, however, pleaded innocent of all that had happened. With the easy conscience of a conqueror he writes: 'By the will of God and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Delhi, by name Siri, Jahanpanah and old Delhi, had been plundered. The Khutba of my sovereignty, which is an ssurance of safety and

25. *TT in ED*, vol. III, p. 446.
26. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 158.
27. *TT* in *ED* vol. III, p. 446; *ZN*, vol. II, p. 122.

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protection, had been read in the city. It was, therefore, my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance, so that they brought on themselves that fate which was inevitable.'[28]

In spite of this unconvincing explanation, the sack of Delhi will ever remain a blot on his even otherwise also not too clean a career. If the imperial city was sacked after protection had been granted to it, it was breach of faith. If the soldiers got out of control, it was bad generalship. Timur, however, took notice of the ghastly deed. If he put the blame on the citizens of Delhi to mitigate the crime of his soldiers, he was at least sorry that the innocent had suffered. To punish his own soldiers, of course, he could never think of. A conqueror like Timur could hardly feel for the sack of Delhi for long if ever, and after a couple of weeks he left Delhi to sack more places and collect more wealth before returning home, but that is out of the purview of this article.

A retrospective study of Timur's invasion complels one to conclude that never perhaps in history was human blood shed so recklessly yet so uselessly. Timur's invasion of Hindustan judged by its results, was nothing more than the fulfilment of an ambition without a distinct object. After all why had he invaded India? According to himself and his chroniclers it was to destroy idolatry and to capture a rich booty. Extension of empire was surely not his object. So far as idolatry is concerned, we do not find mention of razing of many temples in the course of his Indian campaign. One is struck by the iconoclasm of Mahmud of Gazna. Sultans from Aibak to Firoz Tughlaq were not wanting in iconoclastic zeal. But Timur, whose professed motive is said to be destruction of idolatry, hardly appears to be an inconoclast. So far as the destruction of temples was concerned, Timur was lukewarm in its execution. On the contrary he had in his army Turks that worshipped idols and men who worshipped fire—the Persian Magi, soothsayers and 'unbelievers.' The idolaters carried their idols.[29] This was because Timur observed the precepts of Changiz Khan and preferred them to the laws of Islam;[30] so that two doctors, Hafiz-ud-din Muhammad Bazazi and Ala-ud-din Muhammad Bukhari, declared that he should be considered an infidel.[31] It is clear that contemporary opinion was sceptic about his too vocal a profession of

28. *TT* in *ED*, vol. III, p. 447.

29. *Timur the Great*, Tr. by J. H. Saundes from the Arabic Life of Ahmad bin Arabshah (Luzac), p. 321.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 298-99. Also *ZN*, vol. II, pp. 29-30; *TT* in *ED*, vol. III, p. 408.

31. Arabshah, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

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Islam. But even insofar as the destruction of idolaters and infidels is concerned, it is again uncertain if the Hindus alone suffered. The fact is that Muslims suffered as much as the Hindus. In proportion to their population, the Muslims of India certainly paid to the invader their share in blood and tears as heroically as the Hindus.

One cannot also be sure of Amir Timur's greed of gain. The wealth which Mahmud of Ghazna carried away from India impressed all contemporary historians. Mahmud himself was dazzled by the booty he had obtained from India. The wealth Alauddin brought from the Deccan again amazed the contemporary historians whose computation of it varies both in description and in imagery. But Timur's booty did not attract much notice. The motive of loot is certain, but his accomplishment in this regard is lukewarm.

More than a century later a descendant of his house might find it convenient to lay claim to the crown of India on the basis of Timur's victory, but one is compelled to conclude that in spite of what he or his chroniclers have written, he was not clear in his mind why he was undertaking the invasion of India. His was an aimless visitation : and the scourge of it was a terrible calamity. The vanquished had lost all ; the victor had gained nothing.

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THE CHRONICLE OF THE JAGANNATHA TEMPLE—PURI

Dr. K. B. Tripathy

The great temples of India like the celebrated churches of Europe have been centres of culture and education for centuries. Sometimes we find townships have arisen with these temples as their centres. Most of them, particularly of the South, contain a large number of inscriptions and throw great light on the history of our country (both literary and historical). The Jagannātha temple of Puri is an institution of this kind. From olden times this temple has been associated with a chronicle of its own which is now popularly called '*Madala Pañji*'. The word Madala is derived from the Sanskrit word Mardala which means a large drum (a variety of musical instrument). The *Madala Pañji* which consists of long palmyra leaves about three feet in length have been accumulated together from century to century and they have grown to such an extent that these long leaves when bundled together look like a *mardala*; hence the term *Madalapañji*, commonly written *madla pañji*. The *Madla Pañji* is still being written and preserved by particular families in Puri whose ancestors were assigned the task of writing the same long time ago. These writers are a class of attendants of the Puri Temple. The *Madla Pañji* particularly deals with topics that pertain to the religious rites of Lord Jagannātha, and to the dynastic history of the Mahārājas of Puri who are connected with the great emperors of medieval Orissa. Contemporary political events are also found mentioned in the Pañji.

Stirling[1] was the first European scholar to give an account of the political history of Orissa on the basis of the *Madla Pañji* in 1825. Hunter also based his history of Orissa in 1872 on the facts of *Madla Pañji*. Mr. Fleet,[2] however, was the first scholar to examine the historical value of the statements of the *Madla Pañji* as then published and came to the conclusion that its testimony as a historical record is quite unreliable. Mr. R. P. Chand[3] also examined the historical material of the *Madla Pañji* and came to almost the same conclusion.

1. *An account Geographical, statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack*, 1825.

2. *EI*, vol. III, p. 335 ff.

3. *JBORS*, vol. XIII, pp. 10-27.

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Among the scholars in Orissa there are different views about the date and historical value of the *Madla Pañji*. Dr. Mahatab[4] holds that there are enough indications in *Madla Pañji* pointing out that it was begun to be written during the 16th century after Orissa was conquered by the Mughals. He continues that it is known from the Bengali work *Puruśottam Chandrika*, written by Bhavani Charan Bandyopadhyaya, 1844, that Rāma Chandra Dev, the king of Khurda, ordered one Batakṛishṇa Mohanty to write it in his 2nd Anka year (first regnal year—A.D. 1593) and at that time the traditions about ancient Orissa were also recorded in the *Pañji*. So he concludes that the value of *Madla Panji* for reconstructing the history of Pre-Mughal Orissa is on the same par as mere traditions. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi[5] has treid to prove that the author or authors of the *Pañji* have confused regarding the kings of the Kesari dynasty who preceeded the Gaṅgas in the 11th century. Dr. A. B. Mohanty[6] writes that the language of the *Pañji* does not seem to be older than that of the XIth or XIIth century and that the records of the Rājas from Madan Mahādeva till Mukuṇda Deva I that ruled in Orissa from the 13th to the 16th century till the time of Kalaphahar are given in detail and seem to be true and relible. Dr. Mahanty adds that some portions of the *Pañji* that are quoted in the work *Prāchīna Utkal* by Jagabandhu Singha[7] are not found in the *Pañji* as available to him (of which he got copies made at Puri which are the basis of his Edition of the *Pañji*). Dr. Mahanty states in the preface to his *Madala Pañji* that his edition of the *Pañji* is based on the three copies of the *Pañji* which he collected from ' tadhau Karana', ' deula-karana ' and the Rāja of Puri. Obviously the *Pañji* is preserved in the houses of ' tadhau karana', ' deula-karana ' and in the palace of the Rāja of Puri.

In the library of the Utkal University there is a copy of extracts from the *Madala Pañji*. This is a paper nanuscript consisting of three parts. The copy appears to have been made by Shri Sadashiva Rath Sarma who is a part-time reseach-scholar of the Utkal University. The extracts, among others, relate to kings of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty (including Choḍagaṅgadeva, the founder of the Gaṅga rule in Northern Orissa) and their successor Kapileśvaradeva, the founder of the solar dynasty. These extracts differ from the text of the *Pañji*, as published by Dr. A. B. Mohanty. Curiously enough some of these extracts are written in two varieties of scripts, *viz.*, in (1) Proto-Oriya with an

4. *Orissa Itihasa*, 1948, p. 30.

5. The Oriya Journal *Chandrika* published from Mayurbhanj (Baripada).

6. *Types of ancient Oriya Prose and Poetry*, pp. 2,5 (Cuttack 1932) (Rajabhoga).

See also Introduction to *Madala Panji* edited by Dr. A. B. Mohanty, Cuttack, 1940.

7. *Prāchīna Utkala*, p. 312. He refers to a small book in Oriya called *Madla* dealing with the kings of Orissa, published in 1895. See p. 316 regarding the three parts of the *Madla Pañji*.

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admixture of early Oriya alphabet and in (*ii*) modern Oriya. It appears the Pandit made eye copies of these extracts from the original palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Paṅji* now lying at Puri and then wrote out in modern Oriya script the extracts as deciphered by him.

Last year, when I met Pandit Rath at his house in Puri, he was kind enough to supply me one old palm-leaf of the *Paṅji* out of his stock. The text of this leaf (written on both sides) is found in the above mentioned paper—copy of the *Paṅji* in the Utkal University. One side of this palm-leaf contains four lines of writing (*i.e.*, scratching) and the other side three. The side containing four lines is extremely interesting.[8] The first three lines are in proto-Oriya script but the fourth line which is in comparatively advanced Oriya script records that the leaf is an exact copy (*i.e.*, eye copy) made by Bisara Karana on the 9th tithi, Śrāvaṇa Śukla corresponding to the 18th day of Karkaṭa during the 10th Anka of (King) Dritiya Indradyuna when the latter visited Puri and that the copy was made on the order of Gobardhana Praharāja. We know from *Madla Paṅji* and other sources that the king Rāmachandra Deva—the founder of the Bhoi dynasty (last decade of the 16th century) had the title of 'Indradyumna the Second.' This proves that the palm-leaf in question was copied about A.D. 1600.

The mixed proto-Oriya script of the first three lines belongs to a period anterior to A.D. 1472, because the exe-head Oriya inscription (written in cursive Oriya) is dated A.D. 1472, and belongs to the reign of Puruśottama Deva.[9] The contents of the leaf however relate to the reign of Choḍagaṅgadeva, 12th century A.D.

While investigating into the early Oriya inscriptions,[10] I found that the periods of rule of Kapileśvara Deva (A.D. 1435-67) and his son Puruśottama and grandson Pratāparudra, as recorded in the edition of *Madla Paṅji* of Dr. A. B. Mohanty, are almost corroborated by the Oriya inscriptions; and some facts recorded in these epigraphs are broadly attested by the *Paṅji*.

In the copy of the *Paṅji* available in the Utkal University Library, the father of King Kapileśvara is named Jageśvara Rout. We learn from the Oriya digest of the Trilingual Belegalani Grant of King Kapileśvara, discovered at Baptla in dist. Guntur, that his father's name was Jegeśvara and that he commemorated his name by granting a 'Śasana' (rent-free land and settlement) to the Brāhamāṇas in the Andra Deśa.

8. See, the photo-print of the leaf.

9. *JBORS*, vol. IV. p. 361, (Ghorpada Oriya inscription). It is with plate.

10. Ph.D. thesis—London University, 1952 : *A study of early Oriya inscriptions* by Dr. K. B. Tripathy.

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Sometime during the last year Dr. D. C. Sircar in his lecture delivered at the Ravenshaw College pointed out that some statements of the *Madla Pañji* regarding kings of the Gaṅga dynasty are corroborated by inscriptions. The statements of the *Pañji* regarding the kings of the Kesari dynasty who are said to have preceded the Gaṅgas have not been substantially attested by other evidence.

So in the light of the above circumstances, we are led to conclude that the *Madla Panji* (Rāja bhoga) was begun to be written during the *Sūryavaṁśi*[12] period sometime about the 15th century and that copies of the same were made from time to time. At least a copy of a part of the *Pañji* was made during the reign of Rāmachaṅdra Deva of the last decade of the 16th century. Though during these copyings the chance of modernising the language of the *Pañji* was possible, yet the contents of the *Pañji* cannot be brushed aside as quite unreliable and baseless. It is now high time that either the Central Government or the State Government get the manuscripts of the *Madla Pañji* examined by competent scholar and a critical edition of it in made.

Nagri transeript of one side of a palm-leaf from the Madla Panji Puri.

1st:—पाउछ योडा अनीकीली महानाइक थाठी साधी ढ्ढेले परमेरंक नीकटे सेवा देले वड घरम कला परिछा ..ढी देले कालुदास ना. ले कालु

2nd:—दासनीं परमेश्वरकु सेवीला साथी भउणीं से. ले परमेश्वरकं तुले नडुप कला परमकत हेले परमेडारखो मथुराघाट जोर वेण्ट

3rd:—मंडपरे मोआण थिला ए मारकण्ड कुलो कला स. सुनीआ नेंला समरे गमीला लाउतुम्वी वजाई समरे गला परमेश्वर मीआण

4th:—गोवर्द्धन प्रहराज वडपरिछा आज्ञाप्रमाणे तढउनियोग माजारिसा (तकु लेखन) (श्री) दीती इन्द्रद्युम्नङक दशअङक ककडा अठरदिन श्रावण शुक्ल नवमीं निलाद्रिविजेवेलरे गडनाइक विशर अविकल लेख्न.

11. *AR*, 1934-35, p. 68.

12. The line of succession of the Gaṅga sovereigns of Orissa which we find in the published edition of the *MP* contradicts the genealogy of the kings as is given in their epigraphs. Hence this portion of the *Pañji* could not have been that of the D. C. Gaṅga period. See the article on the *MP* by Dr. Sircar in the *JIH*, vol. XXXI, Dec. 1953, pp. 233-46.

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EDUCATION OF NORTH INDIAN WOMEN UNDER THE GREAT MOGHULS

(1556—1707 A.D.)

DR. P. N. OJHA

Education of North Indian Women—both Moslem and Hindu—and particularly those of the higher and well-to-do classes, made considerable progress during the period under review. The Emperor Akbar made arrangements for giving suitable education to the inmates of the royal *haram*, and he is also said to have established a girls school in his palace at Fāthpur Sikrī.[1] In the *Massīr-i-Ālamgīrī*, we find a reference to the education of the females of Aurangzeb's *haram* thus: 'So, too, all the females of his *haram* under his directions, learnt the necessary rules and doctrines of religion, and all engaged in the worship of God, reading and transcribing the Qorān.'[2] Manucci also refers to the education of these ladies, and says that they relaxed themselves by reading books like the *Gulīstān* and the *Bostān* written by Shaikh Sādī 'Shirāzī' and other works dealing with love-themes.[3] Jāfar Sharīf[4] makes an elaborate reference to the various customs and practices relating to female education in Muslim India, and he rightly holds that there were a number of educational institutions for women in the different parts of this country, mostly attached to private houses. Muslim widows generally regarded it to be their duty to coach up young girls in their own houses. The holy Qorān formed their chief text-book. Besides getting lessons on morals and religion, they received an essentially practical education for managing their household affairs. Mughal princesses and the daughters of the nobles were generally educated in their *harams* under the guidance of either old learned tutors or educated mistresses or accomplished eunuchs.

Numerous instances, in our period, are available of highly educated and accomplished women belonging to the royal families as well as to the aristocratic classes. Bābar's daughter, Gulbadan Begum,

1. N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning*, p. 202; Smith, *Fāthpur Sikrī*, pt. I, p. 8.
2. *Maasīr-i-Ālamgīrī* (tr. by Dr. J. N. Sarkar), p. 318.
3. *Storia*, II, p. 331.
4. *Qānūn-i-Islām*, pp. 47-50.

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for example, was a highly educated woman and she is known to have written the famous *Humāyūn-nāmāh*. Humāyūn's niece, Salimā Sultānā, was a well-read and thoroughly accomplished princess, highly proficient in Persian literature, and was herself a gifted poetess. Māham Anaga, the wet nurse of Akbar, is also known to have been an accomplished lady and a great patron of education. Nūrjahān, the celebrated queen of Emperor Jahāngīr, was a woman of unique talent and mental endowments. Her profound learning had made her wise and shrewd enough to carry on the administration of the vast realm towards the latter part of her husband's reign. Dr. Beni Prasad has rightly observed: 'Nature had endowed her with a quick understanding, a piercing intellect, a versatile temper and a sound common sense. Education had developed the gifts of nature in no common degree. She was versed in Persian literature and composed verses, limpid and flowing, which assisted her in capturing the heart of her husband.'[5] Mumtāz Mahal, the beloved queen of Shāhjahān, is also well-known to us for her literary tastes and highly developed poetical faculties. Jahān Ārā Begum, the learned daughter of Shāhjahān, is immortal in Moghul history for her vast knowledge and high cultural accomplishments. Satī-un-Nīsā was another widely read woman of our period in Arabic and Persian, who had been appointed tutoress of Jahān Ārā Begum by Shāhjahān.[6] Almost all the daughters of Aurangzeb were well-read, and they had been educated in accordance with the Emperor's own principles of education. Zebun-Nīsā Begum was the most cultured and talented of them all. We find in the *Maasīr-i-Ālamgīrī* that she had learnt the holy Qorān by rote, for which she had received from the Emperor a reward of 30,000 gold coins. She had completely mastered the Arabic and Persian languages, and had become an expert in writing correctly various hands, such as the '*nastālīq*', '*naskh*' and '*shikashtah*'[7] She had also collected a big library of her own. Thus, we find that the Muslim ladies, especially belonging to the higher classes of society, were generally educated and accomplished. Considering the limitations of the age, particularly caused by the Purdāh system, it is difficult, however, to presume that the education of the girls was universal or on a mass-scale even among the rich and the well-to-do classes.

The Hindu women, especially of the higher and well-to-do classes, also did not lag behind in this respect, and we come across numerous instances of highly educated and cultured women, during our period. There are instances, to show that, sometimes, boys and girls read in the

5. *History of Jahāngīr* (third edition), pp. 157-158. For the specimens of Nūrjahān's verses, see Khāfi Khān, vol. I, pp. 270-71.

6. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, pp. 151 and 173.

7. *Maasīr-i-Alamgīrī*, p. 322.

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same school, at least in the primary and the lower secondary stages of education. In the *Ichchāwatī-Haran*, for example, we find the hero, Chārubrahma, reading with the heroine, Ichchāwatī, under the same teacher and in the same school.[8] Again, in another Oriyā work entitled *Sasisenā* we also find a refernece to a princess, *Sasisenā*, studying with her lover, *Ahīmānikya*, under a teacher, Ananta-Siddha.[9] In the *Sāradāmangal* by Dayārām (17th century) we also find a reference to five princesses, daughters of the King of Baidev, reading with a prince, in the same ' pāthśāla '.[10]

On account of the seclusion of women within the four walls of their houses, their opportunities for receiving education were considerably restricted, and most of the accomplished ladies, particularly those belonging to the well-to-do classes, received their education under private tutors. Some examples taken from different contemporary literary works will reveal to us the extent of literacy among the women, belonging to the different sections of society.

In Mukundarām's *Kavikankan Chandī* we find the story of a merchant, Dhanapati, and his two wives Lahanā and Khullanā. Once when the merchant was absent from his home his elder wife, Lahanā, being jealous of the younger, Khullanā, got a forged letter purported to have been written by their husband, Dhanapati to the elder wife, instructing her to oppress the younger one. But Khullanā, as soon as she glanced at the letter, came to detect the fraud, because she was fully familiar with the handwriting of her husband.[11] This goes to show that Khullanā was thoroughly literate. We find, again, in the same work, a reference to a fowler's wife, Phullarā, quoting copiously from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Paurānic stories in her conversation with her husband, Kālketu.[12] Further, there are instances to show that, in the domain of higher education, there were some such women who even rivalled men with admirable success. In the *Vidya-Sundara* story by Bharat Chandra, for example, we find a reference to a princess, Vidyā, profoundly well-read and highly accomplished, engaged in discussing various knotty problems of

8. Banamālī Dās, *Ichchāwatī-Haran* (Ed. Sridhar Rāo: Cuttack Printing Company, 2nd Edition), Canto I, p. 5 and Canto II, p. 7.

9. Pratāp Roy, *Sasisenā* (Ed. A. B. Mahanty, Cuttack: University, 1953, third edition), Canto III, p. 8. The 4th line therein runs thus: " Eka Thabe Padhaise Kumarī Sangara " (*i.e.*, he was reading together with the princess).

10. Dayārām, *Sāradāmangal*; also T. C. Das Gnpta, *Aspects of Bengāli Society*, p. 188.

11. *Kavikankan Chandī* (Ed. Arunodaya Roy, Calcutta: Bangabāsī Press), p. 138; Dvija Madhava, *Mangal Chandeer Geet* (Calcutta University, 1952), pp. 137-38; Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, 189.

12. *Kavikankan Chandī* (C. U. 1952), Pt. I, pp. 266, 169; cf. also to: Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

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philosophy and religion with a prince, Sundar, her future husband.[13] Instances of highly educated and accomplished ladies can be further multiplied. In the *Ichchāwatī-Haran*, we find muntioned above princess, Ichchāwatī, studying literature, music and Kāvya (poetry).[14] Prithvīrāj in his famous work entitled *Beli Krishṇa Rukmani Ree*, refers to the heroine, Rukminī, studying *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), the *Purāṇas*, the *Smṛitis*, *the Shāstras*, *vidhi* (law), the four Vedas and the six Vedāngas, and she appears to have acquired a remarkable command over all these subjects.[15] In Bengāl, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, we come across a number of talented poetesses and women scholars, among whom mention may be made of Mādhavī, Chandrāvatī (daughter of Bansīdās, the famous poet of 'Manasamangal), Priyambadā (of the 16th century), Vaijantī (of the 17th century) and Ānandamayī (of the early 18th century).[16]

We also find some instances of public women and dancing girls distinguishing themselves in the field of education and intellectual attainments. The famous Hindī poet Keshavadās, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahāngīr, refers to the six beautiful and highly talented female singers and dancers at the court of Indrajeet Singh, the ruler of Orchhā state, namely Pravīn Rāi, Navarang Rāi, Vichitranainā, Tāntaranga, Rang Rāi and Rangmūrti. Of all these, Pravīn Rāi (or Rāi Pravīn) was the most accomplished in the fields of music, dancing and poetry, and she alone could compose poems of very high order.[17] Similarly, in the *Dharmamangala* poems of Ghanarām Chakravarty we find a reference to a public woman, Surikshā, who had acquired a very high standard of education as it is evident from the nature of her questions to Prince Lāusen.[18] She is also said to have attained renown in needle-work.[19] Besides the above instances of women distinguishing

13. Bhārat Chandra, *Annadāmangal* (Bat Talā Editon), p. 252 ; Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

14. Banamālī Dās, *Ichchawatī-Haran* (Cuttack Printing Co., 1907, 2nd Edition), Canto I, p. 5.

15. For Rukminī's education refer to Printhvirāj's *Beli* (Vishvavidyālaya Prakāshan, Gorakhpur, 1953), doḍā 28, p. 6 (text).

16. For a biographical note on each of them, refer to Jogendra Nāth Gupta, *Bangīyā Mahilā kavi* (Calcutta : A. Mukherjee and Co.), References to Mādhavī are also to be found in S. K. Sen, *History of Bengālī Literature* (Bengāli edition), p. 249. References to Mādhavī, Chandrāwatī (the composer of a *Ramāyaṇa* which is famous for its originality and poetic beauty), and Ānandamayī (of Bikrampur, Daccā) of the 18th century are to be found in Dās Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

17. Keshavadās, *Kavipriyā* (Ed. Shrī Laxmīnidhi Chaturvedī, Dharganj Prayag : Mātṛi-Bhāshā Mandir, 1952), dohās 43 to 60, pp. 8-9 ; all of them, it appears, had attained a high degree of excellence in singing, dancing and reading, but 'Rāi Pravīn' alone could compose poems (dohā 60, p. 9). The poet seems to have composed his 'Kavipriyā' in order to train her in poetics (See dohā 61, p. 9).

18. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

19. Ghanarām Chakravarty, *Dharmangal* (Ed. Arunodaya Ray, Calcutta : 1900, 2nd edition), pp. 123-24.

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themselves in music, singing and dancing, we also find a reference to a dancing woman in the *Manasāmangal* poems of Bansīdās (p. 609) in which the heroine, Behulā, is given the epithet *Nāchunī*.[20]

It is to be noted in this connection that not only the mental but also the physical side of women was developed in our period, and in the Bengālī literature we find even instances of women going to war in order to fight against the enemies. In the *Dharmamangal* poems of Ghanarām Chakravarty, again, we find reference to a low-caste woman, Lākhī (belonging to ' Dom ' community), dressing herself as a soldier and then going to war.[21] In the same work we also find that one of the wives of Lāusen, Kalingā, dressed herself like a soldier and went to fight against the King of Gaur, who had attacked her husband's territory during his absence.[22]

A careful study of the foregoing instances enables us to conclude that the education of women—Hindu and Moslem—in our period, was mostly confined to the rich and the well-to-do classes of society and that the growing curtailment of their freedom, chiefly caused by the purdāh system, was greatly responsible for it. Women belonging to the poorer sections of the society, in fact, could find very little time for receiving education, because they were excessively preoccupied with the problems of their livelihood. Thus, the vast mass of Indian women, and particularly those living in the rural areas remained for the most part, illiterate.

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20. Sen, *Typical Selections from Old Bengālī Literature*, vol. I, pp. 34-35; we also find references to the various forms of dancing.

21. Ghanarām Chakravarty, *op.cit.*, p. 224.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 236-237.

GHESITI BEGUM IN BENGAL POLITICS

(*Summary*)

PROF. S. K. PAUL

Aliverdi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal and Bihar, had three daughters who were married by the three sons of his elder brother Haji Ahmed. The eldest Ghesiti was the wife of Nawajis Mohammed, the eldest son of the Haji. Nawajis was the Deputy Governor of Dacca, but he lived near Murshidabad and ruled the province in his charge through his Deputy Raja Rajballabh. Ghesiti and Nawajis had no issue and so they adopted the second son of Amina, sister to Ghesiti. The son died leaving an infant and Ghesiti wanted to place him on the throne after the death of Aliverdi. Aliverdi nominated Sirajuddula, the eldest son of Amina, as his successor and died in 1756. Ghesiti was then a widow but her ambition led her to plot for the overthrow of the new Nawab with the help of Rajballabh. Siraj succeeded in foiling the plot. The second plot was hatched against the Nawab when he was in hostilities with the English and it is not known whether Ghesiti was a party to it. The third plot soon came, which aimed at placing the son of the third daughter of Aliverdi on the throne. There are strong reasons to believe in the complicity of Ghesiti in this plot; but it ended in the victory of Sirajuddula. Then came the last plot, the plot to overthrow Siraj with the help of the English. It is not definitely known whether Ghesiti had a hand in it; but it is beyond doubt that her beloved Rajballabh had full sympathy with the plotters. The plot succeeded—but not to Ghesiti's advantage. Mir Jaffar, the husband of Aliverdi's sister became Nawab and unwilling to tolerate him, the indomitable Ghesiti entered into treasonable correspondence with Raja Ramnarayan Ray, Deputy Governor of Bihar. The letters being intercepted, Ghesiti with her sister Amina were banished at Dacca by the orders of Miron, the son of Mir Jaffar. Soon Bihar was invaded by Prince Shah Alam and lest Ghesiti take an advantage of this to form a plot, Miron ordered her and her sister to be drowned to death, and the order was faithfully carried out. Thus Ghesiti passed out of history.

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CONQUEST OF JAMNAGAR BY AURANGZEB

(Summary)

PROF. K. H. KAMDAR

This paper refers to a Persian inscription in the city mosque of Jamnagar in Saurashtra, just opposite to the famous Jain temples, which I could get through the good offices of Dr. Anoopchandra D. Sanghavi, M.B.,B.S., Vice-President of the municipality. The inscription records the construction of a mosque and a well in the month of Jhillajh in the year 1071, A.H., by Kutb-ud-din Mohammad, Subedar of Gujarat. The building operations were in charge of Mumrez Khan Chauhan, evidently a Rajput converted to Islam. The relevent information follows.

The policy of Aurangzeb to the Rajput states of Gujarat was not less aggressive than what it was towards Mewar and Marwar in north India and Bijapur and Golconda in south India. In Gujarat there were five important states at the time, namely, Shiore (Bhavnagar), Halvad (Dhangadhra), Jamnagar, Kucch, and Idar. All came into clash with the Emperor, excepting Shihore. The reason was that the three states were connected with the Rathor state of Jodhpur by matrimonial or family ties.

Jamnagar was the first to receive the Emperor's attention, only five years after the accession, *viz.*, A. D. 1663. Jam Ranmallji died without an offspring in July, 1661. He had married a Rathor princess, and according to Diwan Ranchhodji, author of the Tarikh-i-Soruth, a handsome Brahmin lady whom he had, once, found in a Sanayasi's Ashram near the capital. Ranmallji had adopted a young Rathore prince, by name, Sataji, under advice of the Maharani and Rathor officer, Gordhandas Bandari. They took by force the capital and the treasure and expelled the brother or according to some account the son of a brother, Jam Raisinhji, who had enthroned himself soon after Ranmall's death. The Jadeja chiefs, of whom Jam Junoji of Dhroll

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was one, had recourse to a clever, though dirty trick. They entered the Darbargudh in the guise of woman and drove away the dowager Maharani and her party. Then they crowned Jam Raisinghji as Maharaja. The Jodhpuri party appealed to the Emperor for help. The request was supported by Maharaja Jaswant Singh who had just been transferred to the Deccan, leaving the charge of Gujarat in the hands of the Faujdar of Soruth, Kutbuud-din Mohammad Khesgi who invaded Halar, defeated the Jam Raisingh at the village of Sakhpat, about eight miles to the south of Jamnagar. Raisinghji, his son Bamianji and a large number of their troops were killed in the encounter. The Rao of Kuchch who had come to the help of his kinsmen with seven thousand troops retired to his native place. The action was fought on the 16th of February, 1663, or on Monday, third day of the dark half of the month of Falgun, V. S. 1719 *saka* year, 1584, according to the stone or Palia inscription which is found at the place (*vide* Diskalker *NIA*, vol. III, no. 9). Halar was annexed. Jamnagar was named Islamebad. A mosque was built in the heart of the city. New taxes were imposed. Luckily the Jain temples which were built in the time of Jehangir were not disturbed. Prince Sattaji was given Jagir in the district of Kadi in north Gujarat. Raisingh's second son, Jam Tamachi, escaped to Okhamandal, and thence to Kuchch. He had concealed himself in a cactus hedge. Tamachi got a part only of his patrimony back from the Emperor and retained the possession of Jamnagar up to 1697 when Tamachi's son, Jam Lakhaji Raj, conquered the city and also the territory south of it. The city was named Nawanagar—Nutannagar according to an inscription on the wall of the fort of Rawal which he built. The state was officially known as the Nawanagar State up to the time of the merger.

Halvad was annexed in A.D. 1673, and the capital was given a new name, Mehmudabad. The Jhala chiefs recovered it later on. It may be remembered that Maharaja Ajit Singh, the posthumous son of Jhala Maharana Jashwant Singh, married Jhijhuba, daughter of Maharana Chandra Singh, chief of Wankaner in Saurashtra.

The Rathor ruler of Idar, which occupied a position of first class strategic importance, Arjundas, was expelled and his state was annexed and converted into crownland in 1673. Arjundas's son Gopinath recovered it in 1675 only to surrender it in 1680. After the Emperor's death his son Rao Chando, conquered his patrimony with the help of his loyal subject specilly the Desais Majumdaras.

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تاریخ مسجد معظم وَاَنَّ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلّٰهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوْا مَعَ اللّٰهِ اَحَدًا

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

بودی[1] شاہ اورنگ زیب غازی کہ عالم گیر شد نامش زدگاہ[2]
بہ صاحب[3] صوبئ در ملک سورت فرستادہ امیری صاحب جاہ
برای شرع قطب الدین محمد ظفر ہادی قرین و فتح ہمراہ
چوں ملک جام مہاراجہ فتح کرد بنای ساخت ہرجا مسجد و چاہ
مرتب شد چوں مسجد گفت ہاتف بگوشد مسجد چوں کعبہ اللہ

شہر ذی الحج سنہ ۱۰۷۱ ھ باہتمام ممریزخان چوہان

1 بھدی 2 زدگاہ 3 جانب 4 بادنی

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SECTION III

MODERN INDIA

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. S. P. SEN,

FRIENDS,

I thank you sincerely for the great honour you have done me by inviting me to preside over the Modern Section of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress. Nobody is more conscious than myself of my limitations as a humble worker in the field of historical study. Perhaps, my long and intimate association with the Indian History Congress and the extreme difficulty of having to find a new Sectional President every year have influenced your choice. Anyway, I must confess that it is very pleasing to my *amour-propre*, and I thank you once more for it.

Convention requires the Sectional President to deliver an address relating to the study of the history of his period. I do not, however, propose to give a learned discourse on some particular aspect or aspects of modern Indian history. I would better like to put before you in a very frank manner some of the thoughts that have crossed my mind as I view the present state of historical studies in this country. I should state at the beginning that in giving a frank expression to my views I mean no offence to anybody. I feel myself in a self-analytical mood and I beg you to feel the same way as you listen to my address.

The great advance made in specialised historical studies during the last half a century has resulted in the growth of what may be called a class of professional historians. There are so many professional groups in our society, and this is just one more. Men of every professional group are primarily interested in the techniques, rules and practices of their profession, and only to a very small degree in what others think about them. To me, however, it seems that such living in isolation is fraught with grave risks. It produces a sense of complacency and undermines the influence and importance of the particular professional group in the wider social structure. In the interest of the profession itself it is necessary for the members to keep up close contacts

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with outsiders, in order to know their reactions to the methods, practices and claims of the professionals. I wonder, how many among us have really felt this need, and, by establishing contacts with men outside our profession and particularly with men belonging to other professional groups closely allied to ours, have tried to ascertain their reactions to the claims we make on behalf of our profession. But I can give you here my own experience.

Either by deliberate effort, or by sheer accident, or because of my temperamental inability to remain devoted to one mistress alone (having transferred my affections from Literature to History and not unwilling to appreciate other Beauties as well), it has so happened that I have a large number of friends outside my professional circle, and in whose intimate association I find as much pleasure as in the company of my professional colleagues. These contacts have led to a very disconcerting revelation. The claims we make for our profession have not at all impressed others in society, and that is quite damaging indeed for us. The reaction of many people, including even people cultured, educated and intelligent, to most of our historical productions is one of sheer unmitigated boredom. Very few people, outside the circle of those who are particularly interested in the subject, would willingly read our historical books from the first to the last page. If anybody unwittingly does so, he cherishes a regret all through his life. If you think of asking your non-historian friend, an economist or a lawyer, an administrator or a judge, a journalist or a politician, to read your latest historical work, so original, so scholarly and, to use a technical term current in our profession, "such a solid contribution to knowledge," just pause and think that you are running the risk of a permanent breach of friendship.

The extent of the popularity of our historical works is revealed by the fact that very few of them are printed in numbers exceeding 1,000, and a young author has to wait till his hairs turn grey before the first edition of his book is sold out. It is not due entirely to a lack of interest on the part of the society to historical works in general, because I have found on enquiry from several well-known book-sellers in Calcutta that large numbers of foreign historical works (not all of them University text books) are sold in this country every year. Leaving aside non-historians, even among serious students of history there is a perceptible decline in interest in historical works, which do not have any direct bearing on one's particular field of specialised study. As a very brilliant young research scholar once told me, with the existing pace of specialisation and the indifference of the specialists to the reactions of laymen or even of specialists in other branches of historical study, the time is fast approaching when there will hardly be any need to print a research work, as the author will be the only reader. . . . . .

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Why is it so? The primary factor responsible is the lack of style in most of our historical productions, born of a supreme indifference to grace and beauty in the presentation of the results of our elaborate and painstaking investigations. As an eminent Indian High Court Judge, a person of great erudition and culture, said to a historian friend of mine (an ex-President of the Modern Section of the Indian History Congress and very well-known to you all): "Indian historical works are for the most part so frightfully unreadable that unless you change your method and approach, you will soon lose the little circle of readers you still have." What a candid warning! It may be said that this particular defect, lack of style, is inevitable and irremediable, as long as we have to use a foreign language as our medium of expression. It is, on the face of it, a quite plausible explanation. But is it the whole truth? I for one doubt it. In other spheres, like literature and philosophy, we do find examples when the same medium of expression has been used with as much grace and beauty as one could ever expect. No, the lack of style is not so much due to the difficulty of using a foreign language as to inattention or indifference, which in most cases is rather deliberate and intentional.

There is an unfortunate impression among historians that their task is to give a bald and unvarnished tale, and that any attention to beauty of language and grace of presentation would expose them to the suspicion of being disloyal to the mistress of their choice. It is based, if one may be permitted to be very frank, on an assumption that Truth and Beauty are contradictory virtues. We forget that "Truth is Beauty and Beauty Truth," that *Satyam* is also *Sundaram*. Among professional historians there is a general belief that elegance of style is not only not necessary but that any conscious effort to make a piece of historical writing attractive can only be done at the cost of accuracy and truth. If any author tries to adorn his writing with literary flowers to make it pleasing as a work of art, there would be many in our professional circle who would promptly question his scholarship. No wonder, where the rules of the Club are so rigid, new entrants have to accept unquestioningly the prescribed code of conduct. A sparkle in the eye, a yearning smile, a pink rose in the button-hole or a drop of 'champak odour' in the handkerchief is likely to be forwned upon with great disapproval by the members who count in the Club. No attempt to introduce sweetness and fragrance is permitted in the room, where Puritanical austerity must prevail.

This rigid attempt to exclude beauty from historical writings has been to some extent under the influence of the most influential group of English historians, who hold that 'history is a picture which requires no frame, a precious stone which requires no setting' (*History and the Plain Man*, an address to the Historical Association in 1939; *History*,

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March, 1939). There are some notable exceptions, like G. M. Trevelyan, but their deviation from the accepted code of conduct has roused the suspicion and disapproval of the majority of professional historians in that country. On the Continent, however, a different code is followed and greater attention is paid to stylistic elegance. French historians, in particular, have shown what delightful success can be achieved in combining historical erudition and accuracy with literary beauty. Anybody who has read Halevy, Henri Pirenne, Halphen, Saignac, Paul Mantoux, and Rene Grousset, to name just a few, will bear me out that attention to a beautiful arrangement of flowers does not destroy the horticultural value of the garden.

One important reason why professional historians disapprove of attention to beauty in style is the fear of losing caste and being disowned by their cousins, the men of science, who are held in the highest esteem by modern society. Historians feel that by sticking closer to their scientist cousins and scrupulously following their methods and practices, they would be able to ensure for themselves similar respect from society. This brings us to the fundamental question, what is the nature of history? Is it a science or an art? Without attempting to give a straight answer to this much-debated question, I would put it that history has close affiliations with both. In the method of acquiring accurate knowledge, in the spirit of enquiry and in the form of intellectual discipline imposed on workers during the process of investigation, history approaches very near to science, although even then it can hardly be called a science. But after the stage of investigation is over and the time for communicating the result comes, the historian has to part company with the scientist. The main task of the scientist is investigation. In communicating his results he need not be very particular about the form, as long as what he means to say is clear. On the other hand, in the case of a historian investigation is only a part of his task; an equally or even more important part of his task is putting the results of his investigation in a written form, reconstructing in a concrete shape the story which has emerged from the mass of materials he has collected. The writing of the story is in a way more important and determines the value of the historians' work to a greater extent than the labour involved in the investigation and the accuracy of the data collected. As such, the historian has to pay attention to form. The story which he reconstructs will interest people only when it is put in a form which satisfies a definite literary standard. If the historian fails to reach that standard, all his labours will be wasted, for society has no need for his ill-recounted story. After all, the historian would do well to bear in mind that history is taken by society as a part of literature. If it is not readable as a part of literature, it will not be read at all.

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This discussion of the nature of historical writing leads me to another very relevant subject, the study of historical methodology. I know that many in our Club would give out a scream at the slightest mention of this word, *methodology*. But even at that risk I feel impelled to raise the issue, in view of the great importance I personally attach to the study of methodology in the training of a professional historian. It has always seemed curious to me that while every other profession prescribes for new entrants a knowledge of the theory and technique of the trade as formulated or practised by master craftsmen, both past and present, in our profession we do not consider it necessary. We take new entrants straight to the actual operation process of the trade and do not consider it important that they should know the ideas of successful practitioners on the various theories underlying that process and the methods and technique calculated to give the desired result. There is no provision in the History curriculum of any of our Universities to induce advanced students preparing for a research career to take some interest in the history of historiography and in the different views about historical methodology.

So far as research in modern Indian History is concerned, the general practice is this. We allot subjects to our students, help them in preparing a bibliography of published works, ask them to visit the different Archives to collect unpublished materials, and then tell them to write out the story in a way that would produce in the mind of the external examiner an impression of hard labour and profound erudition. The result of this system is that the young historian grows up with a feeling that collection of materials is the principal part of a historian's task, infinitely more important than the writing of the story; that scholarship is all that matters in a historian's equipment; that research and history are identical. It was against this view of history that Henri Pirenne wrote (*Revue Historique*, 1897): 'Historical erudition is not the whole of history.' If we subject such scholars to a psycho-analysis, it will reveal that they are not interested in history so much as in antiquarianism; they find pleasure in merely collecting and preserving old things. In their *Introduction aux Etudes Historiques* (pp. 99-100) Langlois and Seignobos say that this type of erudition will always appeal to those whom accident alone has thrown into historical studies, while they are deficient in powers of psychological perception and in stylistic ability.

The best corrective to such a distorted view of history and the most effective and practical way to enable young research workers to form a more balanced conception is to include in our History curriculum for advanced students the study of at least a few notable works on historical methodology. There are so many of them which can be read with profit and interest: Sir Charles Oman, *On the Writing of History*;

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Langlois et Seignobos, *Introduction aux Etudes Historiques*; R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*; L. Halphen, *Introduction a L' Histoire*; C. H. Williams, *The Modern Historian*; Raymand Aron, *Philosophie de L'Histoire*; G. N. Clark—*Historical Scholarship and Historical Thought*; Gordon Childe, *History*; Benedetto Croce, *Theory and History of Historiography*; Marc Bloch, *Historian's Craft*. It is hardly necessary to give a complete list here.

I can easily anticipate the objections that may be raised to my suggestion: first, a craft can best be learnt through practice and not through a study of theories and ideas; and second, in the face of so many entirely different views about the nature, purpose and methodology of history the mind of the young research scholar is likely to get confused. As regards the first, I do not at all agree that in an intellectual craft theory does not matter, practice is everything. After all, practice is always based on certain ideas, certain conceptions about the work to be done. It is of no significance whether we give these ideas the dignified name of 'theory' or not. Besides, in telling our students that in our craft practice is everything and knowledge of theory is of no importance, we are actually teaching them a theory, about the total unimportance of a knowledge of theory. I wonder, if we have the right to teach them one theory and prevent them from knowing that there are other theories as well. Regarding the second objection, I am not so pessimistic about the intellectual abilities of our young research workers, that their minds will get confused if they try to be acquainted with half a dozen different views about the nature, purpose and methodology of history. A mind that can survive under three tons of Archival dust can very well bear the weight of half a dozen conflicting views formulated by some of the master craftsmen in our profession.

From these general observations, I should now turn to some concrete themes relating to the study of modern Indian History. In the first place, I would like to say a few words about our traditional conception of the division of Indian history into periods. That conception is fundamentally based on the race and religion of the ruling class in the different periods. That is why even twenty-five or thirty years ago the general practice was to divide Indian history into three periods, Hindu, Muslim and British, the dividing line between two periods being placed as far as possible near the line marked by a change of the ruling class. Then because of a desire not to magnify the influence of racial and religious differences in our history, and also because of a desire to look progressive and international-minded by adopting for divisions of our history the names used for divisions of European history, it became the practice to divide Indian History into ancient, medieval and moden periods. But in point of dates how close the new

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dividing lines were to the old. The explanation lies in the fact that the new names merely camouflage the old conception of basing divisions on the race and religion of the ruling class.

To me it seems happier to base our divisions on some other factor, of real and vital significance in the process of the historical evolution of the Indian people; and the factor that appeals to me most is India's relation with the outside world. It will be presumptuous on my part to pass any definite opinion whether this criterion can furnish any solid basis of division between the ancient and medieval periods. But so far as the modern period is concerned, I am definitely of the opinion that it furnishes the most satisfactory basis of separating it from the earlier period, and provides a clue to historically the most important characteristic feature of the period. The modern period can best be dated from the beginning of that historical process through which India was brought into close contact with the West. While the most characteristic feature of the modern period is that process of historical evolution which made India an integral part of the ONE WORLD in every sense, material and spiritual.

This view about the principal characteristic feature of the modern period has a direct bearing on our approach to the history of the period. In place of the older and traditional approach, looking at the history of the period from the point of view of the rise, consolidation and decline of the British power in India, we are provided with a new approach,—the process by which India was dragged out of her isolation, brought into close contact with the west and through it made an integral part of the ONE WORLD. Indian thought and life came to be woven into the texture of world civilisation. Thus while dealing with the history of this period, from the middle of the 18th to the middle of the 20th century, the things that really matter are not wars of conquest and consolidation, the policies and prejudices of particular Governors-General, the debates in the British Parliament on topics which lost their interest and importance within less than a decade, but rather those little and big changes, those perceptible and imperceptible processes through which India was induced to respond quickly to the progress in ideas and in material developments in the outside world.

How did this process start? Through what instrumentality was India dragged out of her isolation? My own view is that it was the Anglo-French rivalry in the 18th century which started the process and gave a new turn to India's historical destiny. The forging of a new link became evident from the fact that any army movement across the Rhine or over the Alleghanies would immediately start off a war in India, affecting not only the English and the French but the Indian powers as well, who came to be used as mere pawns on the politcali

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chess-board of the European powers. It was the prolonged struggle for power between two European nations which was mainly instrumental in bringing India into close contact with the West, with all the consequences which followed from it. It was the French who first showed the way that led to the establishment of the British power in India. It was again the French who, by keeping up their threat for more than half century, helped the consolidation and expansion of that power. Thus the Anglo-French rivalry was one of the most powerful instruments for bringing India into close contact with the West, a development which in the wider historical perspective has been altogether beneficial to India and to the world. One of the consequences of this contact, the political domination of India by a European power, had absorbed the attention of historians and politicans so much that other results of the contact, historically more significant and durable, were frequently overlooked. Perhaps, this was inevitable, as long as India remained under foreign political subjection. Now that the chapter of Western domination, after all a very short one in the context of India's long history, has come to a close, and both the nations who fought for supremacy in India have been forced by circumstances to leave the scene of their earlier conflict, it is possible for us to take a more balanced view of India's contact with the West.

It is for this reason that I feel that in the new perspective of the history of the modern period, the historian's attention should be focussed on the study and evaluation of the results of India's contact with the West, rather than on those insignificant skirmishes which are often dignified into great battles, on those puerile and aimless intrigues which are given the status of diplomatic relations, on the personal predilections and prejudices of Secretaries of State and Governors-General whose role in influencing the main trend of India's historical evolution has been magnified beyond all proportions. If I am to indicate here some of the spheres in which India's contact with the West has produced results of great significance, I may suggest that attention may be paid to the following, without of course meaning to restrict the historian's choice to these alone :—administrative structure and ideas, with particular reference to the growth of a Parliamentary system of government; the land-revenue system, which affected profoundly the economic and social structure; the judicial organisation, which has influenced our new conception of the State more than anything else; the codification of laws, with its imperceptible but nonetheless momentous impulse in knitting the different parts of India into an integrated whole; the new system of education under the impact of Western ideas which, with all its defect so loudly proclaimed by many, has been the most powerful instrument in bringing about India's regeneration; and lastly, as the

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cumulative effect of all these influences, the rise of a strong and compact middle class whose contributin to the growth of Indian nationalism can be minimised only by the ignorant or by the ungrateful.

Another sphere in which India's conact with the West has produced results of momentous consequence is economic development. Anybody can see the enormous transformation in the economic life of the Indian people by comparing the method and extent of India's production, or the nature and volume of her foreign trade at the begginning of the 18th century with that at the beginning of the 20th. The changes wrought in the economic life of the Indian people during these two hundred years have been far greater than during the previous two thousand years. If aspects of history deserve the attention of the historian according to their importance in the total life of the community, nothing deserves more the attention of the historian of the modern period than the economic development of India as a result of India's a contact with the outside world and particularly under the impact of the Industrial Revolution in the West. Unfortunately, the study of economic history has not yet received as much attention as it should. One reason is that economic history has not the same thrill and dramatic interest as political history. Besides, it requires a somewhat different approach, different technique, and above all a capacity to deduce conclusions from the data collected.

In connection with my suggestion that the study of modern Indian history should be approached from the point of view of India's contact with the West, I feel that it cannot be done satisfactorily as long as the history of India is studied in isolation from that of other Asian countries, which also were brought into a similar contact with the West during the same period. To understand properly the force and implications of the results of India's contact with the West, it is necessary to know the results of similar contacts of other Asian countries as well. In many cases we shall notice a striking similarity, because of the operation of the same historical process. In other cases we shall notice wide differences, which may have sprung from differences in the policies pursued by the Western powers or from differences in the conditions and traditions in the different Asian countires, resulting in varying degrees and qualities of their receptivity.

I would like to conclude my address with a plea for more sympathy and understanding for non-professional historians, whom we rigidly exclude from our Club. We readily admit to our membership men who preserve in their custody historical records (archivists as they are generally called) or those who discover historical records and publish them with little or no introduction. But we are not inclined to accept charitably the claims of those who write history for laymen, basing it

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on known facts and published materials; while we view with grave suspicion and displeasure those who write historical novels or what the Frenchmen call *Biographie Romancee*. It is better to realise that society has need for both scholarly history and layman's history. The contempt of the scholarly historian for layman's history will not stop the writing of layman's history. The very rigid attitude of the professional historian leaves the field wholly to non-professional historians, who may try to make use of their advantage to distort the society's conception of history. The solution lies in a close understanding and co-operation between the two. Let the professional historian forget his old prejudice and condescend to write layman's history at times. In the face of this competition, the non-professional historian will try to learn the technique of the trade from the professional, and understand that popular appeal does not require deviation from historical accuracy.

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SHEO BHATT SATHE IN ORISSA

Dr. Bhabani Charan Ray

Sheo Bhatt Sathe was well known in Orissa before he took charge of his office as the first Maratha Subahdar of the country. On 14 February, 1755 Raghuji Bhonsla died. As soon as this news reached Orissa many feudatory chiefs and zamindars showed their spirit of insubordination and independence by creating disturbances. Some forts were occupied by the rebels. Mirza Saleh was the Governor of Orissa with the common consent of both Raghuji and the Nawab of Bengal. The situation appeared beyond his control. The Maratha soldiers stationed in the country failed to cope with the situation. This needed the reinforcement of soldiers from Nagpur. Januji, son of Raghuji, entrusted Sheo Bhatt with the difficult task of regaining the prestige of the Marathas in Orissa. He reached here at the head of a Maratha army. He recaptured and reconquered the forts from the hands of the rebels. Some chiefs and zamindars were taken to task. Fathe Khan was in charge of the famous fort of Barabati. He had joined hands with the rebels. He was unwilling to surrender the fort to Sheo Bhatt. Sheo Bhatt fought with him for 27 days, and ultimately recovered the fort from his hands. This victory enhanced his reputation as a veteran commander both in Orissa as well as in the court of Nagpur.[1]

He was used to be deputed by Raghuji from Nagpur to collect the chauth of twelve lakhs of rupees from the Nawabs of Bengal. Sometimes Raghuji paid his debt out of the money brought by Sheo Bhatt from Bengal as Chouth.[2] As Collector of Chauth he was known in Orissa because he generally went to Bengal through Cuttack. For example, after recovering the fort of Barabati from Fathe Khan, he went to Murshidabad for the same purpose.[3]

Mirza Saleh grew malicious at the enhanced reputation of Sheo Bhatt at the court of Nagpur. Mir-Jafar, the Nawab of Bengal was

1. S. L. Vaidya (ed.), *A selection of papers from Vaidya Daftar*, vol. V, 1755-6 No. 57.
2. *Ibid.*, 1754-5, No. 88.
3. *Ibid.*, 1755-6, No. 57.

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displeased with the same for his repeated demand for the punctual payment of the Chauth. Both of them conspired to pull down his legs. By their artifice Sheo Bhatt was displaced from his office.[4]

Sheo Bhatt was chagrined at their conspiracy. He was determined to take revenge on them. Sheo Bhatt pointed out to Januji that now Mirza Saleh should be asked to collect the full amount of Chauth from Mir-Jafar. But Mirza Saleh did not comply to it. Then Sheo Bhatt offered himself to collect the Chauth from the Nawab if he was appointed as the Subahdar of Orissa. Januji agreed to this. But some affairs detained Sheo Bhatt at Nagpur. So he could not take charge of his office. He however got Januji to give his parwana to Chimna Sau[5] for the Governorship of Orissa. He arrived at Cuttack. He soon took possession of one part of the fort of Barabati with his force. Mirza Saleh was on good term with the Nawab who was backed by the British. The British thought that if Chimna Sau would be the Subahdar of Orissa, they would lose their political influence over the country. So they persuaded Mirza Saleh to oppose Chimna Sau. Both the parties were ready to fight.[6] Occasionally they fought with each other. This sort of affairs continued for about two years. Although Sheo Bhatt was anxious to come to Orissa as early as possible he could not do so because Januji was involved in troubles with his brother Mudoji. It is was reported that Januji had intention to assassinate his brother. So Mudoji collected his forces to take revenge on him. Consequently Sheo Bhatt was detained at Nagpur.[7] Towards the end of June 1759 the relation between the two brothers improved a little. Sheo Bhatt arrived at Cuttack in July 1759 with an army of about 700 horse and 1200 foot.[8] Prior to his arrival at Cuttack a compromise was made between the two parties. Mirza Saleh and his party had yielded the Subahdarship to Chimna Sau. Sheo Bhatt took charge of the province from the latter.[9]

The first thing he had to do was to take measures to collect Chauth from Bengal. Now Mir-Jafar was succeeded by Mir Qasim as the Nawab of Bengal. The new Nawab was reminded of the payment of Chauth; but he kept silent. First Sheo Bhatt threatened to invade Bengal if Chauth was not paid ;[10] but that produced no desired result. Now Sheo Bhatt thought that the Nawab broke the terms of the treaty

4. *Add Mss.* 29209.

5. In the English records he is known as Chimna Sau; in the Marathi records he is known as Chimna Bapu.

6. *Orme Mss. India*, vol. XVIII, pp. 5045-47.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 5063, 5066.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 5071.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 5065, 5071.

10. *CPC*, vol. I, Nos. 1099, 1109, 1246, 1445.

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of 1751 ; so there was no reason why he could not violate the Maratha part of agreement by resorting to the former practice of raiding into Bengal—beyond the river Suvernarekha.

Accordingly he proceeded to plunder Birbhum. The British requested Mir Qasim to oppose Sheo Bhatt. At the same time they stationed troops at Midnapur against the threatened Maratha plunder in Burdwan and Midnapur.[11] Sheo Bhatt demanded three lakhs of rupees from Tilak Chand, Raja of Burdwan ; but as his demand was not complied with, he sent troops to plunder his country ; Midnapur was also attacked. A great deal of disturbance was created. As the British troops moved nearer, Sheo Bhatt with his force retreated to Cuttack.[12]

Sheo Bhatt claimed that both Burdwan and Midnapur were a part of Orissa ; they must not go into the hands of either the Nawab or the British. The British replied that " Burdwan has been granted to the Company for the expense of the troops by His Majesty and Mir Qasim."[13] Midnapur has become independent of it (Orissa) for a long time and it has been made over to the Company for the maintenance of troops."[14]

In 1761 Sheo Bhatt again marched to Midnapur with a large number of troops and plundered it. The British troops attacked the Marathas. They deprived them of the money collected from Pataspur, a parganah belonging to Sheo Bhatt.

Sheo Bhatt in anger appointed Rai Govind to the Zamindari of of Chitnam Berda which belonged to Tilak Chand. His object was to harass Tilak Chand so that he would pay him three lakhs of rupees ; but he could not succeed.[17]

Thus there grew ill feelings between the Marathas and the British. But Sheo Bhatt who occasionally raided Burdwan and Midnapur was inclined to accommodate matters. At times he was prepared to show conciliatory attitude to the British.

The British appointed Khushal Chand at Cuttack to forward letters from Bengal to Madras. He was imprisoned ;[18] Company's people

11. *Ibid.*, No. 699.
12. *Ibid.*, Nos. 783, 830, 900, 908.
13. *Ibid.*, No. 1082.
14. *Ibid.*, No. 1447 ; J. Long, *Selections from unpublished records*, No. 555.
15. *Ibid.*, *Selection* No. 570.
16. *CPC*, vol. I, No. 1001.
17. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1447, 1464, 1487.
18. *Ibid.*, Nos. 956, 957.

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were not allowed to despatch letters. When the British requested, Sheo Bhatt released Khushal Chand and granted Company's people Dastak to despatch letters.[19] Again a British ship was drowned in the Bay of Bengal. Many people however survived and reached the shore near at Puri. The zamindar of the place did not allow them to pass through his zamindari. But Sheo Bhatt sent his own men and brought them safe to Cuttack. He was also prepared to send Diaram Hussain Baig along with John Bristow to Calcutta to settle affairs relating to Pataspur and other parganaus dependent on Jaleswar.[20]

But the British had no reliance on the Marathas. They were always suspicious of the promises of Sheo Bhatt. They said "Sheo Bhatt the Maratha chief obstinately continues his pretensions to the Midnapur province as well as his demand for Chauth and although he pretends a desire to accommodate matters in an amicable manner, yet much to be feared from known treacherous disposition of that caste of people and if they can find an opportunity, they will attempt to send plundering parties into Bengal."

Such impression of Maratha character induced them to prepare a plan to drive out the Marathas from Orissa. By this time the British placed Mir Qasim as Nawab on the throne of Bengal in place of Mir-Jafar. So they thought to take his help in this matter. They pointed out to the Nawab that the Marathas frequently invaded Bengal. The only measure to protect Bengal from Maratha invasion was to drive out the Marathas from Orissa.[22] In his interest, the Nawab should take lead in the expedition into Orissa. The British would assist him with their force. The Nawab would bear all the expenses of the expedition ;[23] he would assign out of the revenues of Cuttack such a part lying between Jaleswar and Cuttack to the British to defray the expenses of the expedition.[24] At first the Nawab agreed to this proposal. Accordingly a British force at the command of Ellis was ordered to march as soon as the Nawab's army would move. But meanwhile the Nawab changed his mind. He expressed his inability to shoulder the burden of the expenses of the troops as suggested by the British. Consequently the scheme could not be executed.[25]

19. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1024, 1161.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 1352.

21. Long, *op. cit.*, No. 552 ; *Select Committee Progs.*, F.W. 17, September 1761.

22. *Bengal Select Committee Progs.*, 18 December 1761 ; *Bengal and Madras Paper* 1746-85, part II, p. 1068 ; *CPC*, vol. I, No. 1325.

23. *Bengal Select Committee Progs.*, 17 September 1761.

24. *Ibid.*, 18 September 1761.

25. *Ibid.*, 16 January 1762 ; 18 February 1762 ; 8 December 1761 ; *CPC*, vol. I, No. 1394.

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Thus the British diplomacy to drive out the Marathas enraged Sheo Bhatt to a considerable extent. In 1763, it is on the issue of the demand for large preferential terms for the British trade that Mir Qasim and the British came to a difference and consequently entered into a conflict. Now Sheo Bhatt corresponded with Mir Qasim. In response he received many letters from Mir Qasim who wrote that he had already destroyed the power of the British. If Sheo Bhatt was eager to collect the Chauth he should act in collaboration with him. Mir Qasim also sent Sheo Bhatt a sanad for Jaleswar and Midnapur. Sheo Bhatt sent order to Vaskar Pandit and Buli Khan to march to Jaleswar to assist Mir Qasim. The situation grew alarmig to the British. They therefore sent Aga Muhammad Ali, an inhabitant of Balasore and Ghulam Mustafa Munshi, the Company's Gumashtah at Balasore to the Marathas.[26] They assured them that the British would consider the payment of Chauth. So they should not go against the British. Again Vansittart, British Governor of Bengal confirmed that assurance ; he wrote to Sheo Bhatt that all arrears of Chauth would be paid provided the Maratha forces would not join the troops of Mir Qasim.[27] Now Sheo Bhatt was convinced ; he stopped helping Mir Qasim.[28] He now offered to send help to British against Mir Qasim. At the time of British victory over Mir Qasim he congratulated the former with the hope that a closer friendship with them would result in the settlement of Chauth. But he did not succeed to come to a settlement with the British during his governorshp.[29]

In the year 1764 Sheo Bhatt fell into arrear, he could not pay the full amount as demanded by Januji. Januji, therefore grew dissatisfied with him, he passed an order for his dismissal ; he appointed Chimna Sau to take over the charge of the Government of Orisa.[30] Chimna Sau arrived at Orissa with his detachment, Sheo Bhatt was imprisoned on 12 April 1764 " in the house of one of his chief people by a party belonging to the fouzdar of Barabati ".[31] Mukund Pandit with some hundred fighting men of Sheo Bhatt's party launched an attack on Chimna Sau's troops, but was defeated. Five or six people were killed in the scuffle[32]

During the dismissal of Sheo Bhatt, a great deal of disorder prevailed all over Orissa. Some zamindars and chiefs of Orissa took advantage

26. *CPC*, vol. I, Nos. 1948, 1951.

27. *Home Dept. Misc.*, vol. XXXIII, F.W. 10 Feb. 1768.

28. *CPC*, vol. 1868.

29. *Ibid.*, No. 1902.

30. *Bengal Select Committee Progs.*, 18 April 1764 ; 26 April 1764 ; *Bengal and Madras Paper*, part II, p. 1088 ; *CPC*, vol. I, Nos. 2178, 2204.

31. *Bengal Select Committee Progs.*, 18 April 1764.

32. *Ibid.*

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of the situation. The zamindar of the fort of Dhenkanal attacked and murdered Buli Khan, the adopted son of Sheo Bhatt and seized his horses and effects.[33]

Bhaskar Pandit, younger brother of Sheo Bhatt had been appointed as the faujdar of Balasore and had been found in arrear. Now Chimna Sau attempted to capture him for the non-payment of the arrear. But he entered into a confederacy with the Zamindars of Mayurbhanj and Nilgir; as a result he was carried away by them with his effects.[34]

Sheo Bhatt was sent to Nagpur after being imprisoned at Orissa. But he, however, made his escape from Nagpur on the pretence of going on a pilgrimage to Deogarh.[35] From Deogarh he went to Oudh (i.e. Sujauddaulah's country). He made an attempt to meet Lord Clive there. But he found no encouragement from him. Perhaps it is during this time that he went to Delhi and " procured from the Imperial Court His Majesty's Parwana appointing the Nizamat of the province of Orissa together with Midnapur to Janoji Bhonsla."[36] He also procured from Januji, a body of five hundred horse under the command of Azim Khan assisted by other Maratha chiefs to march to Bengal. This he thought would reinstate him as Governor of Orissa. But Chimna Sau, the present Maratha Subahdar of Orissa could clearly understand Sheo Bhatt's scheme. To be friendly with the British he kept them informed as to the movement of Sheo Bhatt. He also took adequate precautions to see that he was not displaced by Sheo Bhatt.[37]

Sheo Bhatt entered into Orissa. He soon found a number of discontented zamindars gathering around him. He made his headquarters at Kunjar where the river Mahanadi falls into the sea. Now more zamindars were won over to his side. Detachments were sent in boats up the river and set fire to the suburb of Cuttack. He told the zamindars that he came to take possession of Orissa; he had received the approval of the British by an order from Clive.[38] He sent a letter to Motte, who was sent to Sambalpur by Clive, asking him to act in conjunction with him in this matter. The British could see Sheo Bhatt's diplomacy. They proclaimed that they were not in concert with Sheo Bhatt. Besides they offered Chimna Sau (now represented in Orissa by Bhawani Pandit) to send troops to reduce Sheo Bhatt.[39]

33. Long, *op. cit.*, No. 724; *CPC*, vol. I, No. 2484.
34. *CPC*, vol. I, No. 2484.
35. *Early European travellers in Nagpur Territories*, p. 45.
36. *Bengal Secret Committee Progs.*, 5 July 1764; *CPC*, vol. I, No. 2326.
37. *Ibid.*, Long, *op. cit.* No. 807.
38. *Early European travellers in Nagpur Territories*, p. 45.
39. *Ibid.*, *Bengal Secret Committee Progs.*, 7 October 1766.

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Sheo Bhatt continued to challenge the subahadarship of Chimna Sau. He occasionally fought against his opponents. He created disturbances in the country.[40] It is only in February, 1767 that he was finally defeated along with Shamji and other zamindars supporting him.[41] Thus the stormy career of Sheo Bhatt in Orissa came to an end.

Sheo Bhatt ruled over Orissa from about 1760 to 1764. He was the first Maratha Subhadar of Orissa appointed only by the Raja of Nagpur. He was a capable administrator; he was very active to suppress the insubordinate forces.[42] He was a very popular governor.[43] Although he was dismissed from his office in April 1764, still he could enlist the sympathies of many zamindars of Orissa to fight for his reinstatement to power for about three years more.

He was ambitious and unscrupulously shrewd; he found no difference between friend and foe for the assumption of power. He was sympathetic and generous to the distressed. He was a Maratha Governnor who struggled hard for the realization of Chauth from the British, though with no effect.

He is more remembered for his reform in revenue administration than for anything else. His previous knowledge in financial matters helped him to bring such change. A settlement of the revenues of Orissa was made nominally at 1,800,000 of Arcot rupees. Out of this total amount the regular land revenue covered 14,00,000 while the rest i.e. 4,00,000 were imposts on various heads.[44]

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40. *Ibid.*, *Early European travellers in Nagpur Territories*, p. 48.
41. *CPC*, vol. II, No. 68.
42. *CPC*, vol. I, No. 2010.
43. *Early European Travellers in Nagpur Territories*, p. 12.
44. A. Stirling, *An account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, p. 91.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND ANDHRA

Shri Y. Vittal Rao

In the 17th Century the Coromandal Coast in the East of India became famous for European Trade. Coromandal, the land of the Cholas, first was so called by the Portuguese sailors. It is also the name of one of the oldest Dutch Settlements on the East Coast mentioned in 1499 by the Italian Travellers[1]. There came to be a Dutch Settlement established as early as 1603 at Masulipatam. It belonged to the King of Golconda and the Dutch found it a very good place for the buying of cotton goods. So a permanent factory was set up in 1605.[2] Another Factory at Pettapoli (Nizampatam, Krishna District) was also founded for trade. Masulipatam became important for so many industries.[3] The English East India Company established a factory in 1611 at Masulipatam. They got permission from the Qutub Shahs of Golconda by the Golden Firman in 1632.[3a] In time the English trade on the Eastern Side was extended from Masulipatam to the seaports of Orissa and factories were started at Hariharapur in the Mahanandi Delta and at Balasore. Masulipatam trading factory was under a president and his council. In 1640 Francis Day, a member of the Masulipatam Council got from the Raja of Chandragiri the site of the later factory Fort St. George of Madras. From 1642 Fort St. George displaced Masulipatam as the chief settlement on the coast of Coromandal[4]. The factories in the 17th Century on the east coast increased with the factories established at the Hugli. The French also came to establish at Masulipatam a factory by 1671.[5] Francois Martin was the Director of Masulipatam factory. According to Dr. Fryer's account the English by this time had the factories at 'Fort St. George, Alias Madiras, Pettipoli, Michlapatam, Gundore, Medapolam, Balisore, Bengala, Huygly, Castle Bazar, Pattana.' Dr. Fryer's "Travels in India and Persia between 1672-1681," mentions that Sir William Langhorn was the Superintendent over all the factories at the Coro-

1. *Manual*, p. 229.
2. *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. V, p. 33 (referred to as *CHI*).
3. Abdul M. Siddiqui, *The History of Golconda*, pp. 352-57.
3a. Qutb Shahis of Golconda—Sha Rocco.
4. Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 38.
5. *CHI*, vol. V, p. 67.

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mandal Coast as far as the Bay of Bengal up to the Hugli River.[6] Sir William Langhorn was the Agent in 1672-77 and his successor was Sir Streynsham Master in 1678-81[7]. A study of records of Fort St. George for the period 1672-81 would give us interesting and valuable information regarding the commerce, relations between several company servants and their subordinates, references to native rulers and officers and about the places and persons that the agents came into contact. Further information will be attempted after a further study of the records after 1681.

Regarding the commercial importance of Masulipatam called in the records Metchlepatam, it was the chief trading station in the Coromandal dealing in salt petre, fine calicos, canary, musters, paper quills, copper, tin, lead and cloth. Sugar was also imported at Michlipatam. This is also corroborated by the account given elsewhere about the merchandise imported into Golconda, pepper, musk, porous earthen ware, red cloth, chinese velvet, lac and glasswear[8]. The Port of Masulipatam became famous for its manufacture of painted clothes, because the plants (Indigo) from which dyes were extracted grew very much to perfection in the adjointing territory[8a]. The flourishing nature of the trade at the port would be seen when 100 thousand pagodas were intended for Machlipatam to commence a new investment and that too for ordinary Long Cloth and sallampores.[9] Along with Masulipatam, Madapollam (Madhavayipalem) and Pettapoli were managed, for some time. Madapollam was then made independent of Machlipatam and then Pettapoli and Madapollam were made independent of each other[10]. Machlipatam further had an investment of ninety thousand pagodas for dealing in Norwich stuffs to create a consumption therein[11]. The Agent Streynsham Master in 1679 embarked on a ship the "Golden Fleece" for Machilipatam on an intended visit to the subordinate factories.[12] There were also with him Christopher Hatton and Richard Mohun. From the memoir of his visit to the factories the places he visited are known.[13] The places mentioned are Narsapur,

6. Quoted by J. J. Wheeler in *Early Records of British India. A History of the English Settlements in India.*

7. *CHI*, p. 104.

8. *Diary and consultations*, 10 September 1672, 4 July 1673, 20 September 1673, 20 October 1674, *Sundry Book*, 16 November 1677. Siddiqui, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

8a. Robert Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, p. 147.

9. *Diary and consultations*, 13 February 1679.

10. *Letters from Fort St. George to subordinate Factories*, 3 July 1679. *Diary and Consultatons*, 7 July 1679.

11. *Diary and consultations*, 28 July 1679.

12. *Ibid.*, 11 March 1679.

13. *Ibid.*

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Armagon or Duraspatam, Krishnapatam, Trievitore (Tiruvattiyur), Waloor, Pullicot, Duraspatam, Ondcore, Weranee, Guncupalle Juelldinde, Ramapatnan, Careda, Yelliga Ponde, Alloor, Humlae Mooll, Yentapollam, Bavpatla, Pettepolee alias Nyshampatnam, Pullyawar—Krishna River—Narragoodra, Collepalle, Dio Island, Warrapollam, Metchlepatam, Pettapolle, Moodera Polam, Peddagullypoll, Chinagullypoll, Collypatam, Mootuapalle, Narasapuram. After having visited the several places he returned visiting the places Narsapore, Verasheroone, Pentepolle, Elloor, Gullepalle (Dymand mines)[14] Mustabad, Beshwar, Mungullgeyyee, Punnor, Yentapollam, Juelldinde Krishnapatam, Cotapatam, Duraspatam or Armagaon, Chycaracoat, Pollicat Trevitore, Madraspatam, to Madras by 30th April 1679. According to the letters of Pullicut dated 30th October 1679, and 5th November, 1679, from Matchilipatam, there was a furious storm and hurricane causing much damage and drowning half the town of Matchlipatam. The Dutch sustained much loss in pepper and other spices and also calicoes. Several houses were untiled, and the storm lasted a whole night. At least 20,000 men, women and children were believed to be drowned in Matchilipatam and adjoining villages. The Callicoes wet in the factory were all delivered to the washers to be washed again hastily so as not to sustain any loss.[15]

In the course of the visit of the Agent he visited Narsapur. The Dutch Chief of Palacole, which is about 7 miles inland from Madapollam, met the Agent (Madhavayipalem). There the Agent saw a dwarf, an Indian of the comitee caste (Vaisya) who was said to be (10th April 1679) 30 years old, a native of a place near Madapollam. They measured him and he was 46 inches high, all his limbs and his body straight and equal proportioned, of comely face, his speech small equalling his stature. He desired to be one of the Company's merchants, being a shop-keeper by trade.[16]

The Agent also met one Collidinde Narsaraj a gentue of an ancient family of great repute always a friend of English, who brought a present of fruits. The English presented him 6 yards of Scarlet Cloth for continuance of friendship, because he had been very serviceable to the English merchants in clearing their goods from stops in those places.[17] Narsaraj's son sent a wild Hogg and some fruits desiring to make a visit also; but it was thought fit to send him 3 yards of cloth Rashes to prevent

14. Famous for Diamond mines, about a mile and a half out of Towne upon a Hill, and the agent went to see them dig and look for diamonds.

15. *Diary and consultations*, 1679-80.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

17. *Ibid.*

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the trouble thereof and loss of time.[18] The English decided to breed up spotted deer at Madapollam here to be sent home every year for His Majesty.[19]

The Agent's visit at Pallacol is also associated with the information given in regard to the great Temple at Palakol. (It must be the Ksheerararama Temple). It is stated regarding what the Agent's men had seen thus:

"There is a great Pagoda where great numbers of people come to worship once a year, and perform their vows of being hung up by the skin of the back with Iron Hooks at the end of a long pole turned round upon a post of about 10 or 12 feet high before the pagoda. This feast happened this year (14th April 1679) the day after the agent is at Pallicull, and some of their people went to it, and (saw nearly 20 people so hung up) by the back before the Pagoda at the top of the high Pole.[20]

There are certain references to the native rulers and their officers. Presents were offered to them as also to the King of Golconda as well as his minister Madanna in order to please them because that would be helpful to them for trade[21]—for the King, scarlet cloth, looking glasses, glass boxes, sword blades straight, cut glasses, large Amber knives, all of total value 495 pagodas; for Madanna, the scarlet cloth, straight swords, sandal, large looking glasses, Amber hefted knives all of total value 184 pagodas. Like this their officers were presented with things of value each about 98 pagodas.[22] Another interesting reference is a message received from Sivaji Raja by a Brahmin Madhoji Pantulu and two others requesting some cordial stones and counter poisons.[23] They were sent along with some broad cloth and sandal wood.[24] Sivaji sent the agent a letter of 22nd September, 1677 by two of his spies to supply him with ingeniers (engineers). But the English returned a civil excuse lest that would result in the danger of their becoming the enemies of Golconda and the Mughals.[25]

Richard Mohun was the Chief at Machlipatam about 1672. By 1674 there were some differences between him and the second man Mathew Main Waring.[26] On account of Mathew Main Waring's

18. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
21. *Ibid.*, 10 February 1675.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, 14 May 1677.
24. *Ibid.*, 14 May 1677.
25. *Ibid.*, 1672-80, 3 October 1677.
26. *Diary and consultations*, 1672-80, 22 September 1674, 24 October 1674, and 28 October 1674.

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charges there was hesitation to entrust the Company's affairs to Richard Mohan.[27] So a special message was sent to Richard Mohan asking him to explain (suspending him). Main Waring was to be in charge of Masulipatam factory.[28] Some witnesses produced by Mohan were examined at a special consultation on 18th February, 1676. But there were levelled some charges by one Chamberlain against Mathew Main Waring. On 31st January 1678 papers against Mathew Main Waring were considered.[29] Moreover there was also a complaint made by the boat-men of Machlipatam against Mathew Main Waring about the harsh language used by Main Waring towards the boatman Calloor Vissana.[30] Now after deep examination interrogation and consideration the Company thought of readmitting Richard Mohan into the Company's service and he was given the sixth place in the factory at Fort St. George.[31] The Company considered Main Waring's request for reappointment. He was sent forward for Machlipatam for fear that he would go home and create troubles to the Agent and Council and to the Merchants about the prices of the cloth.[32].

Sir William Langhorn too had some slanders against him. But the Council paid tribute to his impartial and careful administration and his endeavour to increase and enrich the inhabitants and the towns. Certain of the Law Books useful for the Council, were given to them before his embarking for England, which was done on 27th January, 1678.[33]

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27. *Ibid.*, 14 and 15 June, 1675, 16 June 1675.
28. *Ibid.*, 17 June 1675.
29. *Ibid.*, 31 January 1678.
30. *Diary and consultations*, 1678-79, 23 May, 1678.
31. *Ibid.*, 7 August 1678.
32. *Ibid.*, 26 November 1678.
33. *Ibid.*, 27 January 1678.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF TIPU SULTAN

PROF. K. SAJAN LAL

This original letter 13 × 1″ × 7·6″ in size on a silver sprinkled paper with enclosures (a note and list of presents), has a wrapper with a small seal bearing the name of Tipu Sultan in Nasq with 5121 as figures.[1] Its wrapper has two dates (i.e.) 20th Ramzan, 1209 A.H. (10th April, 1795) and 23rd Shawwal, 1209 (12th May, 1795).[2] It is difficult to surmise the name of the addressee, because its " kamarbund " has been lost. But from the contents of the letter, one could say that it was addressed to a venerable religious persons.

As the two dates on the back of the letter, I presume the one, viz., 20th Ramzan, 1209 A.H. is the date of the despatch, and the other 23rd Shawwal, 1209 A.H. is the date of the receipt at its destination.

For the interest of readers, I give free translation of this Persian letter :—

" In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the advent of your esteemed letter, which contained an acknowledgement under grateful obligation for the regard manifested by your venerable self towards me. Such consideration tend to cement the ties of mutual friendship. May Almighty always protect and lengthen life and prosperity of such magnanimous elders. Similar prayers are perpetually observed for your noble self by the entire Muslim population during five times prayers daily, as well as, in Juma (Friday prayers) in this Darul Islam (Metropolis of Islam).

It is, however, incumbent on every orthodox Muslim to reciprocate for his religious brother an identical treatment which he adopts for

1. I have seen a No. of letters addressed to the Nawab of Kurnool bearing the impression of this very seal. In our Arts College Persian Mss. Library, one Registered No. 576, called the Kulyat-i-Mulla Urfi, possesses a number of seals, of which two are of Tipu Sultan, of the same type as found on the wrapper of this letter.

2. Again I found the impression of this very seal with 5121 figure in another important Mss. called the Fatehul-Mujahideen-i-Askari, written by Zainul-Abideen, the Mir Munshi of Tipu Sultan. This is also found in our Persian Mss. Library, Registered No. 818. These facts prove the genuineness of the seal.

Note : 5121 figure on the seal perhaps relates to the year of his accession.

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himself. It is a matter of great satisfaction that all the commendable qualities are assembled in your goodself which do not call for any elucidation.

It is earnestly expected that you would consider me always an entertainer of sincerity and afford the occasions for cheerfulness by favouring me with communications of your welfare.

Here in the Khudad Factory[3] cloth is woven by Muslims, who commenced their daily work in the name of Allah and other rehearsals. Out of these, few pieces are herewith forwarded, although these not worthy of your goodself, but in view of the sacred rehearsals, it is believed you will render me grateful by their acceptance."

In a letter to Nizam Ali Khan, Tipu uses the same phraseology. " The advantages and benefits of unity and harmony among the followers of Islam are certainly exposed to your full view. I am sure that your blessed mind is ever engaged in adopting measures to increase the power of Islam and the splendour of the faith of Muhammad as indeed benefits the world of leadership and your good name. You will please suggest the ways and means for affording protection to the honour, life and property of the people who are dependent on Muhammadan Chiefs who in fact constitute a unique trust for God, the real Master."[4]

A short note with a list of articles which accompanied the letter has 25 items of interest such as, (1) Turban Cloth, one white and four Burhanpuri pieces; (2) cloth for shoulder woven in gold borders, five pieces; (3) stripeed sheets, ten pieces; (4) Gujrati brocade with gold and silver flowers design, five pieces.

It is significant to note that all the above articles were manufactured by the Khudad Factories which specialised in textiles.

3. Literally means ' God Given,' a title adopted by Tipu Sultan. *Note*: Tipu Sultan had established a large number of factories, which were known as Khudad. *Cf.* Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, pp. 344-48.

4. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 254. *Note*: But these appeals to the Nizam's humanity and religion, in the words of Mohibbul Hasan, " Fell on deaf ears."

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TIPU SULTAN AND SIR JOHN SHORE

Dr. B. Sheik Ali

Sir John Shore, who succeeded Cornwallis, was interested in the conservation of the Company's power and not in its future extension. He was guided in his policy by the Charter Act of 1793 which stipulated: 'To pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominions in India are declared to be measures repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of the nation.' The affairs of the Company were well settled at this time with its vast resources, sound finances, devoted allies, humbled enemies and disciplined forces. As for Tipu Sultan, it was a period of preparation for his next struggle. He utilised the time between 1792 and 1798 in repairing the ravages of the Third Mysore War. Apparently the two powers were on friendly terms but in reality the deep-seated suspicions and jealousies were not removed. The English were aware that Tipu was secretly preparing for a war to recover his losses. Cornwallis had already taken precautions thinking that Tipu had not reconciled himself to the humiliations of 1792. Immediately after the departure of the allies from Srirangapatam, the Governor-General tried to conclude a general treaty of Guarantee against Tipu for the defence of the new acquisitions. It stipulated that if Tipu attacked unprovoked any of the confederates, the other two should join to punish him. This treaty aimed at keeping Tipu in perpetual isolation but it was never signed as it excited the Maratha jealousy. These secret negotiations of Cornwallis offended Tipu and destroyed the chances of any possible Anglo-Mysore accord. The English further offended him by the forcible occupation of Wynaad, contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Srirangapatam. Its strategic situation and rich plantation prompted Cornwallis not to surrender it, despite Tipu's repeated protests and clear stipulation in the Treaty. Even the Bombay Government admitted the justice of Tipu's claims but the Governor-General refused to surrender it. Wynaad was not the only place thus denied to Tipu. Corrumbala, Amara and Sulya were equally unjustly retained by the English. When Tipu strongly protested against the British breach of faith, a commission was appointed to enquire into the matter. Even after the Commissioners established the claim of Tipu to the two places of Amara and Sulya, the English did not restore them on the plea that they were already in possession of the Coorg Raja.

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This was the State of affairs at the time Sir John Shore succeeded to power. His first act of importance on assuming office was the restoration of the princes to Tipu. In March 1794 they returned to Mysore accompanied by Captain Doveton. The next step was to fix the English policy towards the Malabar chiefs and their relations with Tipu. The situation was getting tense over the question of Wynaad and Corrumbala. Sir John would neither restore the places nor would specifically declare his real intentions. As a compromise, he framed a policy of four points.[1] Firstly the Company was not to assert its own indisputable right over the two districts, Wynaad and Corrumbala, which might force a rupture with Tipu. Secondly, if Corrumbala was occupied by Tipu's officers with his sanction, no opposition was to be made. Thirdly, if they proceeded beyond the limits of these two districts, the English should interfere and repel them. Lastly, if Tipu's officers without his knowledge committed predatory incursions, Tipu was to be informed of their conduct. Accordingly, instructions were issued to the Bombay Government warning them not to offend Tipu by asserting the Company's claim over the districts. He confessed that the Company's claim was so weak that the Nizam and the Marathas would not be sufficiently convinced to support it in case of war.

The Deccan politics underwent a great change after 1795 which helped Tipu to play an important part. The defeat of the Nizam, the humiliating convention of Kurdlah, the death of the young Peshwa Madava Rao II, and the war of succession, helped Tipu to revive his power. The old Triple Alliance was completely broken. Sir John Shore declined to support the Nizam both against Tipu over the question of Kurnool and against the Marathas in the war of Kurdlah. His policy towards Tipu was not to provoke a war with him but to remain prepared if it became inevitable. He did not expect that Tipu would take the offensive. 'The defalcation of his territories and the deprivation of his property will impose silence on his resentment and restrain upon his ambition.'[2]

However, Tipu's relations with the English deteriorated after 1795. Rumours spread that he was preparing for a war. He was in touch with the courts of Hyderabad and Poona for an offensive alliance against the English. Imtiaz-ud-Daulah, the nephew of the Nizam and highly influencial in the Hyderabad court after the captivity of Azimul-Umrah was in league with Tipu to destroy the British power. Tipu's agents, Medina Saheb, Sakka Ram and Qadir Hussain Khan were employed for the same purpose.[3] Tipu had sent an agent Abdullah

1. *Secret General Letters to Court*, 15 May 1794.
2. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, vol. II, no. 223.
3. *Secret General Letters to Court*, 31 August 1796, para 24.

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Baig to Scindhia to secure his military assistance.[4] He had repaired the inner rampart of the fort of Srirangapatam and had solicited the aid of Zaman Shah.

These reports perturbed the Governor General who believed that the losses of 1792 had only moderated the violence of Tipu which might be roused to a just resentment of his wrongs if an opportunity presented itself. Sir John Shore observed that the ambition of Tipu has more and stronger motives for action than that of the Marathas and that the consolidation of our alliance with the latter is an object of importance to us.[5] The British suspicions were further increased by the rapid economic recovery of Tipu and their own unsatisfactory military affairs in the Deccan. The number of European troops had been reduced to 3000.[6] They were widely dispersed on the coast to counteract the Dutch designs. The revolutions in Poona, the captivity of Azimul Umrah and the increasing influence of the French at Hyderabad had tilted the balance of power in favour of Tipu.

As a precaution, Sir John Shore took certain measures. He ordered the Company's troops to be prepared for war, and despatched them to certain strategic points. He sent reinforcements from Bengal and instructed the Madras Government the detail course of action.[7] If considerable number of Tipu's tro ops were to march towards Malabar, it should be deemed an indication of war.[8] A mere remonstrance of Tipu's hostile activities was not judged proper unless supported by a threat of war. It would provoke Tipu to war, if he really meant peace. But if he was assisted by a large number of troops from outside, war was to be declared.[9] Thus the policy of Sir John was to remain prepared for war at all times. 'We may assume it as an undeniable principle that to impose peace on our neighbours by strength of a military establishment, ready at all times for active or extensive exertion, is not only the wisest, but the most economic system.'[10]

Sir John took another step to frighten Tipu. He sent a joint note signed by all the three confederates complaining of his military preparations and calling for an explanation.[11] It was to convince Tipu of the existence of the old alliance which was not

4. *Military Sundry Book*, vol. 102, 8 April 1798, para 324.
5. *Secret Proceedings*, 18 February 1795, Minute of the G.G.
6. *Secret General Letters to Court*, 15 May 1794.
7. *Secret Proceedings*, 17 November 1796.
8. *Letters to Court*, 30 September 1796.
9. *Secret Consultations*, 12 September 1796, p. 900.
10. *Secret Proceedings*, 18 February 1795.
11. *Secret Consultations*, 26 September 1796, G.G. to Tipu.

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dissolved either by the revolutions at Poona or by the Nizam-Maratha War. Tipu in reply expressed his surprise at the remonstrance and denied all charges. He assured them that he would remain peaceful. These assurances did not satisfy the English. They called him evasive and deceitful and their relations were strained with him. But Sir John did not precipitate a war with him and restrained the passions of those who wanted it, even though he believed, 'Subversion of the British power as opposing the firmest barrier to his ambition, must naturally be the object which he has most in view.'[12] Still he thought that Tipu could not implement his designs immediately as, 'his obvious policy is to wait until events produce a disunion amongst the confederates and to foment it if he can.'[13]

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12. *Political Proceedings*, 18 February 1795.
13. *Ibid*,

FIRST INDIAN JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

SHRI DAYAL DASS

During the early period of British administration, the Indians who joined the service of the East India Company, had to be content with the petty post of 'Munshi' or 'Persian Writer'. Even on the judicial side, the highest post for which an Indian could aspire was that of 'Ameen', or rarely that of 'Sudder Ameen'. But the dawn of the nineteenth century saw the development of a new attitude, and the average Indian began to enjoy greater consideration and respect at the hands of his British rulers than he had done so far. This change of attitude was gradually evident even from the communications received from the authorities in England, and the Charter Act of 1833 went so far as to lay down that 'no native of the said territories (i.e., the territories occupied by the British in India), nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company.'[1] This was a major decision in favour of the Indians, and in the words of Sir Courtenay Ilbert 'The policy of freely admitting natives of India to a share in the administration of the country has never been more broadly or emphatically enunciated.'[2]

However, before the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, another benevolent Act[3] which was passed by the British Parliament in 1832, had authorised the Governor General of India in Council to appoint persons other than the covenanted civil servants of the East India Company as Justices of Peace in India. Lord William Bentinck, who was the Governor General of India at that time and who, by his many-sided reforms, had done so much to improve the lot of the Indians, was not slow in seizing the opportunity afforded by the above enactment. He at once recorded a brilliant Minute[4] suggesting for the consideration of the Government the propriety of appointing Indians as Justices of the Peace in the city of Calcutta.

1. *Act* 3 *and* 4, *William*, IV, c. 85.
2. C. Ilbert; *The Government of India* (Oxford: 1907, Second Edition), p. 89.
3. *Act* 2 *and* 3, *William IV*, c. 117.
4. *Govt. of India, Home Dept., Judicial (Criminal) Original Consultations*, 26th April 1833, no. 11.

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On 13th March 1833, the Governor General addressed a communication[5] to the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta, Mr. McFarlan, asking for his opinion regarding the advantage which might be expected to be derived in the conduct of the duties of his department from the services of some respectable and intelligent Indian gentlemen being made available to him by their nomination as Justices of the Peace. In reply,[6] the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta stated that in his opinion respectable Indian gentlemen would be of use as justices sitting with the European Magistrates in cases of petty assault, in the Conservancy Department, and more particularly in assessing and enforcing the payment of house tax. He was further of opinion that they would also be useful in legalising the proceedings of the Magistracy in many cases in which the European magistrates were compelled to sit singly for want of adequate number of officers of that class, but in which the law, as it then stood, required that at least two justices should decide. Mr. McFarlan thought that the Indian justices would also be able to elicit information regarding robberies and other heinous and secret offences which was not obtainable by the bench consisting solely of European magistrates. However, he did not think that the Indians were till then qualified enough to grapple with the whole round of causes that arose in the course of a justice's duty and, therefore, recommended that the nomination of Indian magistrates should be made, at least in the first instance, with a tacit understanding that their services would be more especially required in the duties mentioned above. On the whole, Mr. McFarlan was of opinion that the appointment of Indian Justices of Peace would be productive of some advantage to the administration of justice in Calcutta, and that no serious evil could ensue from the adoption of the proposed measure. However, he recommended the postponement of the nomination of any Indian magistrate for a year or two, in order first to give the Indian gentlemen an opportunity of acquiring an insight into the mode of conducting criminal business, and experience in assessing the value of evidence by their employment as 'Grand Jurors'.

In view of the above sentiments expressed by the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta, the Governor General in Council, before proceeding further in the matter, addressed an enquiry[7] to the judges of the Supreme Court of judicature at Calcutta. The judges were requested to express their opinion both as to the degree of general benefit which the measure in contemplation might afford in the police administration of Calcutta, and to the expediency of carrying it into effect immediately. The

5. *Ibid.*, no. 12.
6. *Ibid.*, no. 18.
7. *Ibid.*, no. 14.

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judges, Sir Edward Rayon and Sir John Franks, observed[8] that both of them anticipated much benefit from the appointment of able, upright and intelligent Indian gentlemen to the office of Justice of the Peace, and that they were both of opinion that the measure should be carried into effect immediately. Sir Edward Rayon also did not approve of the limitation of duties proposed by Mr. McFarlan, and thought that no distinction ought to be made between the powers, duties and responsibilities of the Indian and European magistrates.

Lord William Bentinck's illness came in the way of immediate execution of the above plan, and it was not till March 1835, that the Governor General could again devote his attention to the subject. On 17th March 1835, Bentinck recorded a Minute[9] giving a list of the following twelve Indian gentlemen whom he proposed for appointment to the office of Justices of the Peace :—

1. Radha Kant Deb
2. Raja Kali Krishna
3. Dwarka Nath Tagore
4. Prosonoo Kumar Tagore
5. Kashi Pershad Ghose
6. Russomoy Dutt
7. Kashi Nath Mullick
8. Radhika Pershad Sen
9. Ram Kamal Sen
10. Rustamji Cowasji
11. Raj Chander Dass
12. Radha Madhab Bonnerji.

The names of the above individuals were originally selected by the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta, and were also subsequently approved by the judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, Sir Edward Rayon and Sir J. P. Grant.[10] It may be added that the selection of suitable Indians for appointment as Justices of the Peace was not an easy task. Great difficulty was experienced in finding persons ' who with respectability of character possessed a sufficient knowledge of the English language.' This rendered unavoidable the omission of certain individuals who were otherwise suitable, but did not possess adequate knowledge of English. Bentinck considered this as a ' great draw back to the satisfaction that the measure would otherwise have given.'[11] However, the names of the twelve persons whom it was intended to invest with the duties of

8. *Govt. of India, Home Dept., Judicial (Criminal) Original Consultations,* 20 April 1835, nos. 1-2.
9. *Ibid.*, no. 4.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*

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Justices of the Peace were forwarded to the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta, who was also requested to say whether in his opinion there were any Indian gentlemen belonging to other communities like the Muhammadan, East Indian or Armenian, whom it might be desirable to include in the list.[12] As a matter of fact, one Armenian gentleman, Mr. M. M. Manuk, had submitted a formal application[13] to the Secretary to the Government of India, Judicial Department, requesting to be appointed as a Justice of the Peace. This application was also forwarded to the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta, who was requested to state whether in his opinion Mr. Manuk's claims on the score of general respectability were such as to entitle him to be selected for appointment as a Justice of the Peace, without giving umbrage to other gentlemen of the same community.[14]

In his reply,[15] the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta, Mr. Mc. Farlan, stated that he was not acquainted with any Muhammadan resident of the city whom he could name for the office of Justice of the Peace. Among the East Indians, he suggested the selection of Mr. James Kyd. In view of the small number of the Armenian population in Calcutta, Mr. Mc. Farlan did not consider the appointment of any of them necessary, but he named Mr. Laurence De Souza, a Roman Catholic Portuguese gentleman for the post. The Town Major of Fort William, the Chairman of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce and the Master of the Trade Association were also proposed by Mr. Mc. Farlan for appointment.

However, the fast declining health of Lord William Bentinck compelled him to leave India soon afterwards, and thus this important question was left in a state of indecision. His successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, after assuming the office of the Governor General of India, reconsidered the whole subject and finally decided[16] to appoint only the following three gentlemen as Justices of the Peace :—

1. Mr. James Kyd—East Indian,
2. Mr. Radha Kant Deb—Hindu, and
3. Mr. Dwarka Nath Tagore—Hindu.

The Governor General in Council considered the nomination of the above gentlemen as a sufficient mark of their willingness to enforce the Parliamentary Act of 1832, permitting the appointment as Justices of the Peace of persons other than the covenanted civil servants of the East

12. *Ibid.*, no. 5.
13. *Ibid.*, no. 8.
14. *Ibid.*, no. 5.
15. *Govt. of India, Home Dept., Judicial (Criminal) Original Consultations*, 25 May 1835, no. 19.
16. *Ibid.*, no. 20.

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India Company, and 'of our recognition of the wisdom of the Legislature in its enactment.'[17] It was, however, proposed to 'increase the list as fit Individuals may present themselves for the Office.' Therefore, in a letter[18] dated the 25th May 1835, No. 103, the Secretary to the Government of India requested the Governor of Bengal to issue formal commissions regarding the appointment of the three individuals mentioned above as Justices of the Peace. It was made clear to the Governor that the nomination of these individuals was intended chiefly as a recognition of the enactment of the British legislature, and that it was not deemed necessary to appoint more members in the first instance. The Governor of Bengal was also requested to make the necessary communication on the subject to the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta.

Thus, for the first time in the history of British administration in India, an Indian was appointed as Justice of the Peace—a post which had hitherto been reserved only for Europeans. It would have been definitely more desirable if the list of Indian Justices of the Peace could have been adequately enlarged so as to give greater representation to the various communities in India. But one can hardly deny that this was a step in right direction and was the first serious attempt on the part of the British government to associate Indians in the administration of justice in this country.

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17. *Govt. of India, Home Dept., Judicial Letters to the Court of Directors*, no. 17 of 1835, dated 16 November 1835, para 18.

18. *Govt. of India, Home Dept., Judicial (Criminal) Original Consultations*, 25 May 1835, no. 20.

THE CESSION OF BERAR

KUMARI SAROJINI REGANI

The appointment of Lord Dalhousie in 1848 as the Governor-General of India had its repercussions on the State of Hyderabad also.

While the policy of Imperialism launched by Lord Dalhosie took the shape of annexation in some parts of India, in Hyderabad it resulted in the cession of Berar.

The process by which the rich province of Berar was wrested from the Nizam is a painful episode in the annals of the erstwhile State of Hyderabad and it fully reveals to us the high-handed tactics adopted by the Govenor-General and his agent the Resident at Hyderabad.

Conscious of the superior powers of the British, their Indian ally often acquiesced in the sacrifices demanded of him, reluctant to bring matters to a clinch lest it should blow up the myth of the sovereignty of the Indian Princes.

When one looks at the transactions that preceded the Cession of Berar between the Court of Hyderabad and the British Resident, one cannot but feel sympathetic towards the pathetic efforts of the Nizam to save his princely dignity and prestige by avoiding the Cession of territory that was so unjustly demanded of him in 1853 towards the payment of troops that he was not legally bound to maintain.

Surrounded by a feudal Court and nobles whose only anxiety was to retain their feudal jaghirs and served by a Diwan who more often than not was only a servile and pliable instrument in the hands of the Resident, the Nizam realised fully well that his position was hopeless, but he still hoped to rouse the instincts of justice in the British by delaying to cede the Berars, and we find him telling his Diwan Siraj-ul-Mulk:[1]

> 'Don't be afraid—the British Government never can take from me districts to pay troops, I am not bound to support by treaty.....' 'I am aware that the days when my alliance

1. Hastings Fraser, *Memoir and correspondence of General James Stuart Fraser*, pp. 874-75.

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was useful or desirable to the British Government are well-nigh at an end ; but I fully rely on the performance of the different articles of the Treaties existing between the two Governments.'

But the Nizam was soon awakened rudely from this mood of complacency by the imperious demands of Lord Delhousie who knowing fully well that his demand was unjust still insisted on the Cession of Berar. We find Lord Dalhousie in one of his letters to General Fraser, the Resident, admits that the Nizam was legally not bound to maintain or pay the contingent troops towards whose maintenance the Cession of Berar was demanded. He says,[2]

" The Government of India frequently speaks of the obligation to maintain the contingent imposed by treaty, because for forty years the Nizam has admitted practically the application of such an interpretation to the 12th article of the Treaty of 1800. If however the Nizam should turn upon us and deny the obligation existing by Treaty, I am bound as a public man to say that I could not honestly agree that there was any other warrant than that of practice for upholding the contingent. I could argue, and have agreed, that His Highness' conduct has hitherto given that construction to the Treaty, and that till it is rejected and resisted, there is an obligation upon him to support properly the force which under that construction, he has allowed us to organise; but if he were to take his stand upon the Treaty, I could not argue that either the letter or the spirit of it bound the Nizam to maintain 9,000 troops of a peculiar and costly nature in peace because it bound him to give 15,000 of his troops on the occurrances of war .... The specific demand which we must make, supported by the reasons to which I have adverted, is that the contingent shall be put upon a clear and secure footing by means of a Treaty, supplementary to that of 1800, which must be concluded for that purpose."

The Hyderabad Contingent came into existance in March 1813 mainly due to the efforts of the then Resident Russell at the Court of Hyderabad.[3]

The Nizam according to Article 12 of the Subsidiary Treaty of 1800 was required to supply the British in case of War along with the subsidiary Troops an additional Force of 6000 Infantry and 9000 Horse.

But the British were greatly dissatisfied at the inefficiency of the troops supplied by the Nizam during their Maratha Campaigns and they impressed on the Nizam the necessity of improving the standard of his troops.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-77.
3. Burton, *A History of the Hyderabad Contingent*, p. 29.

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Taking advantage of the Nizam's acquiescence, the Resident, Mr. Henry Russell, on the plea that the subsidiary force could be utilised only against external aggression, and that the Nizam's troops must be reorganised on a more efficient footing to quell internal distrurbances, soon brought into existence what was known as the Russell Brigade.

The Rusell Brigade was mainly officered by the British. This Brigade subsequently developed into the famous Hyderabad Contingent.

Though the Hyderabad contingent was ostensibly created with a view to suppress internal disorders we find that these forces were employed by the British along with the subsidiary troops in fighting against the Marathas in 1818 and also in putting down the Pindaris.

Ever since their inception these troops were under the exclusive supervision of the British Resident, and their salaries were paid from the Resident's treasury with an order drawn on the Nizam's Peishcush[5]

Referring to these troops in his report to Sir Thomas Hislop, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army, the Resident Russell wrote:[6]

> 'Infact they belong to the Nizam's army in name only, they consider themselves as Company's Troops, and for all practical Purposes they are as much so as those on our own immediate Establishment. I am persuaded that your Excellency will find this Brigade equal to Native Troops of the Company's own army.'

This contingent ever since its inception was a heavy drain on the Nizam's treasury.

Unable to meet the expenses the Hyderabad Government had to incur a heavy debt of 80 Lakhs of Rupees with the notorious Palmer and Company in Hyderabad, in order to discharge which the Nizam was forced ultimately in 1823 to give up his claims to the peishcush for the Northern Sarkars (from the English East India Company). In spite of this, arrears began to accumulate and by 1850 the debt of the Hyderabad Government to the East India Company ran to the extent of 64 Lakhs of Rupees. The Nizam who had every reason to be dissatisfied with his Diwan began to change one Diwan after another and for some time he even evinced an inclination to dispense with the appointment of a Diwan.

4. Briggs, *The Nizam*, vol. I p. 212.

5. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

6. *Papers Relating to certain pecuniary transactions of Messrs. William Palerm and Co.*, p. 25.

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But this brought a strong remonstrance from the Resident and he was forced to appoint a Diwan.[7]

While this was the state of affairs in Hyderabad, the Nizam received a strongly worded letter from Lord Dalhousie (dated 6th June 1851) urging him to reform his troops and disband his irregular Arabs and to pay the arrears of the contingent troops lest he should incur the displeasure of the India Government whose power he said, 'can make you as the dust under foot and leave you neither a name nor a trace.'[8] In case the Nizam failed to discharge the arrears he was asked to cede certain districts in his dominions namely the Berars to the India Government towards the maintenance of the Contingent troops.

Prior to this the Resident, General Fraser, had suggested to the Govrnor General that the India Government should take over the temporary management of the Nizam's territories till the finances of the state improved,[9] but this suggestion was rejected by Lord Dalhousie on the plea that it would amount to interfering in the internal sovereignty of the Nizam. But though Dalhousie had refused to take over the temporary management of the Nizam's territories at the same time, he not only refused to look into the Abkaree claims of the Nizam's Government from the Secunderabad Cantonment that would have helped in easing the Financial situation but did not even make any attempts to reduce the size of the contingent. On the other hand he allowed things to drift from bad to worse and we find him writing to General Fraser:

> 'I am very sorry that the Nizam is bent on breaking his own head apparently, but if he is resolved on doing so, I shall provide that the interests of this Government are fully cared for. His Royal brother in Oudh is engaged in the same process, and as the two years' probation conceded by Lord Hardinge is drawing to a close I shall be obliged to Act. In short, my hands are likely to be full enough of these booby potentates for some time.'[10]

How Lord Dalhousie took care of the interests of his Government later events in 1853 were to show:

After the letter of remonstrance from the Governor General, the Nizam's Government cleared a greater part of its debt by paying 45 lakhs in one instalment and promised to pay 35 lakhs by the end of October 1851. Seeing this Lord Dalhousie preferred to stay his hand for some time.

7. Hasting Faser, *op. cit.*
8. Briggs, *po. cit.*
9. Hasting Faser, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 291-92.

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But by March 1853 the debt once again stood at 45 lakhs of Rupees and this time Lord Dalhousie made up his mind once for all to secure the Berar Country by a treaty.[11]

So on 12th Mrach 1853 the Resident informed the Nizam: 'It is necessary that I should tell you that my Government is determined no longer to rely upon promises—some substantial arrangement must be made that will produce the montly sum required to a certainty and I really know no other that can be relied upon excepting assignment on the revenus of the districts for that specific purpose.'[12]

The Nizam who was smarting at the injustice of the demand pertinently said to the Resident Colonel Law,[13] 'Colonel Sahib, I want to ask you a question about that contingent? .. ... ' In the time of my father the Peshwa of Poona became hostile both to the company's Government and to this Government and Sahib Jung organised this contingent and sent it in directions along with the Company's troops to fight the Maratha people and this was very proper . The Company's army and my father's army conquered the ruler of Poona .... .. after that there was no longer any war, so why was the contingent kept any longer than the War?' The Resident who was taken back by this exclaimed,[14]

'I do not see why your Highness should expect me to answer questions about events that occurred ..... six and thirty years ago,' and then he lamely told the Nizam that the contingent continued to exist because the previous Nizam had not objected to it.

Then in a magnanimous manner he informed the Nizam that if the latter desired to reduce the expenses on the contingent the Governor General was willing to accept it, provided the Nizam made some permanent arrangement for the regular payment of the Contingent.

Finding that it would not absolve him of the necessity of ceding territories, the Nizam declined to make any changes in the contingent.

Anxious to get a secure footing for the contingent troops by obtaining territories by means of a treaty the Resident began to dilate on the advantages that would accrue to the Nizam from the treaty, upon which the Nizam exclaimed[15]: 'God forbid that I should suffer such

11. *Hyderabad Residency Records*, vol. 91 (Foreign Dept.), L. no. 58 of 1853.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, L. no. 70 of 1853.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, L. no. 71 of 1853.

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a disgrace, I don't want any new treaty at all, how much so ever you or any other person or persons may fancy it to be advantageous to my interests.'

> Finding the attitude of the India Government adamant he irritably asked " Did I ever make war " ' against the Enlgish Government ? or intrigue against it ? or do anything but cooperate with it—and be obedient to its wishes that I should be so disgraced.'[16] Then he pathetically exclaimed to the Resident ' Gentleman like you '—who are.....some times employed in Government business at other times as Soldiers.....and at other times even engaged in commerce .....cannot understand the nature of my feelings in this matter... I am a sovereign Prince, born to live and die in this Kindom which has belonged to my family for seven generations. You think I could be happy if I were to give up a portion of my kingdom.....it is totally impossible..... I should feel that I was disgraced.....because I should loose my honour by parting with my territory.'[17]

Then after speaking in a plaintive manner about the loss of the Peishcush from the Northern Sarkars and the denial of his share in the Carnatic country the Nizam told the Resident that henceforth he would see that the contingent was regularly paid and in case he failed to do so the Governor General after waiting for a period of four months could demand the cession of territories.[18]

Then the Resident insisted on the immediate payment of all the debt including principal and interest, and an additional sum of 3 Lakhs of Rupees towards the arrears of the contingent troops up to January 1853, and the transfer of some Taluqs to ensure regular payment of the contingent troops in future.[19]

The only points on which the Resident was prepared to make some concession was that since the Nizam did not like the idea of ceding his districts in perpetuity, the districts, he said, would be handed over to the management of the British and that they would acknowledge the Nizam's sovereignty over them by submitting annual accounts of the revenues of the ceded districts after deducting the cost of the contingent, Appah Desay's Choute and the allowance to the family of Mohipat Ram, and the balance would be paid into the Nizam's treasury.[20]

16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, L. No. 74.
20. *Ibid.*

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He firmly told the Nizam, when the latter tried to procure the guarantee of the principal nobles for the regular payment of the troops,

> ' I am not permitted by my Government to make any change in that part of the plan which prescribes that distrits must be made over to our exclusive management to provide for the monthly pay of the contingent whatever the strength of the Forces may be.'[21]

On hearing this the Nizam angrily asked ' suppose I were to declare that I don't want the contingent ?' To this the Resident replied that if the Nizam wanted the contingent to be disbanded, it would be done, but in gradual stages, and till such time the whole force would be disbanded it was imperative on the part of the Nizam to cede temporarily, territories to ensure the regular payment of the troops.[22]

Finding the Resident quite obdurate the Nizam asked the advice of the nobles who were present at the meeting, one of them realising the hopelessness of the situation replied, ' If it is the Governor General's determination to have districts for the pay of the contingent what advice need we give ? Your Highness does not require our advice or any further consultations on the subject.'[23]

The Resident pressed the Nizam for a specific answer upon which the latter exasperatedly remarked ' I could answer in a moment and what is the use of answering ? If you are determined to take districts you can take them without my either making a new treaty or giving any answer at all.'[24]

This statement of the Nizam shows that he was conscious of his weakness and of the futility of trying to resist the British in their greed for power.

Yet he was loth to part with his territories and suggested to the Resident, if the Berars were to be ceded at least they should be kept under the joint management of the British and the Nizam's Governments.[25]

Finding the Resident not in favour of such a scheme he once again pleaded for time to discharge his debts and to make proper arrangement for paying the contingent troops regularly. When Shums-ul-Umra one of the Nobles of the Nizams Court conveyed the desire of the Nizam

21. *Ibid.*, para 9.
22. *Ibid.*, para 14.
23. *Ibid.*, para 20.
24. *Ibid.*, para 26.
25. *Ibid.*, L. no. 78.

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to see the Resident in this connection, the Resident remarked, emphatically: " I will not refuse to visit the Nizam, if he sends for me, but that I consider it useless..... and that I must now immediately report His Highness's obstinacy and folly to my own Government, and if His Highness does not forthwith depart from His present foolish conduct, he will assuredly hereafter have much cause to regret that folly—but that this will be no fault of mine.'[26]

The Resident also impressed upon the mind of the Diwan Siraj-ul-mulk the necessity of the Nizam concluding the treaty with the British and also informed him that failure to comply with their demand might necessitate the employment of Force.[27]

Realising that he had no option the Nizam agreed to enter into the treaty of Berar and the treaty of Berar was concluded on the 21st May 1853. By this treaty the province of Berar and the districts of Osmanabad and Raichur were ceded to the British.

During the course of these transactions the Nizam at one time sarcastically remarked that all the vexation had risen due to the 'high value that the British power placed upon money.'[28]

To this the Resident hastened to reply, 'My Government had no desire to gain for itself in the arrangement whatever surplus money we can make by the good management which His Highness talks of will go into coffers of His Highness himself by the plan which I now offer to you of having districts only made over to our exclusive management and not transferred to us as our own property. He concluded by saying with a smile, 'suppose you don't suspect us of being likely to cheat you in making up the accounts .'[29]

In spite of this lofty demeanour of the Resident subsequent events have fully borne out the worst fears of the Nizam.

Not only was great unhappiness created over the rendering of the accounts by the British, but the Berars were never returned to the Nizam.

26. *Ibid.*, L. no. 79.
27. *Ibid.*, L. no. 81; Hastings Fraser, *op. cit.*
28. *Hyderabad Residency Records*, L. no. 74 of 1853.
29. *Ibid.*

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TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES 1830-1860

DR. DHARMA BHANU

Facilities for transport and communication play a vital role in the development and progress of a people and a province. They have been compared to the red blood arteries of the human body and are as valuable to the economic development and mutual understanding of a people as the arteries are to human life. The Government of the East India Company in its early days did not consider it as one of its duties to look after the construction and repair of roads and highways either in the Bengal Presidency or in any other part of the country. The North-Western Provinces, which was a part of the Bengal Presidency for a long time,[1] could not fare better in this respect.[2] Writing in 1824, Bishop Heber complained of the bad roads in the Upper Provinces: 'The fact is there are no roads at all, and the tracks which we follow are often such as to require care even on horseback. By driving slowly no doubt a gig may go almost anywhere, but it is anything but an agreeable pastime to drive along tracks which, when beaten, are so poached by the feet of horses and cattle and so hardened by the sun as to resemble a frozen farm yard; while if the traveller forsakes those roads he encounters cracks deep and wide enough to break his wheels. Here and there is a tolerably level mile and two, but with a few exceptions there is no fast or pleasant driving in this part of India."[3] Even as late as 1840 the condition of the roads does not seem to have been much better, as is clear from a contemporary account.[4]

1. Dharma Bhanu, "The Presidency of Agra," *Agra University Journal of Research*, January 1957; Also Dharma Bhanu, *History and Administration of the North-Western Provinces.*

2. For the Upper Provinces see Dharma Bhanu, "*Early Land settlements in the Upper Provinces*," *Uttara Bharati, Journal of Research of the Universities of U.P.*, July 1955; "Administration of Justice in the Upper Provinces," *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, July, 1956.

3. Bishop Heber, *Diary*, pp. 192 and 227.

4. *Military Service and Adventures in the Far East*, vol. II, p. 20.

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Before the construction of the Grand Trunk Road, Delhi was about three months' ordinary journey from Calcutta, let alone Britain.[5]

The Government of the North-Western Provinces recognized the necessity and the importance of good roads in the thirties of the nineteenth century, both for the efficiency of the Government and for the welfare of the people. But the construction of roads took time and required money, and, therefore, the schemes of the Government of this Province could not materialize as quickly as the Government wanted them to.

The greatest and the most stupendous project of the type taken up by the Provincial Government was the Grant Trunk Road which connected Calcutta and Delhi and from there ran up to Lahore and Peshawar. The *kachcha* mud and/or *kankar* pathway existed since very early times, but it was not properly demarcated and constructed. The work on the Grant Trunk Road commenced in 1836 at the initiative of the Supreme Government at Calcutta, though in the Province it had to be undertaken by the Provincial Government. It was proposed that the road be 1,423 miles in length,[6] and it was to be a metalled or macadamized road. After it was completed, it was, according to J. W. Kaye, as 'smooth as a bowling green.'[7] The cost of construction was estimated at one thousand pounds sterling per mile, and the cost of its maintenance and repairs was estimated at fifty thousand sterling per year.

Another project of note was the Bombay-Agra Trunk Road, construction on which started in 1840 in the time of Lord Auckland. Its total length was to be 734 miles, and the total cost of the scheme was to be £ 243,676 with an annual maintenance charge of £ 5,000. The cost of the construction of this road together with its maintenance charges was shared by the two Governments of the North-Western and Bombay Provinces, the North-Western Provinces Government paying much more than the Bombay Government. The mileage of the road under the jurisdication of the two Governments was in the proportion of 19 : 11 between the North-Western Provinces and Bombay.[8] The

5. Jacquemont, *Letters from India*, vol. II, p. 271; Strachey, *India, Its Administration and Progress*, p. 9.

Strachey, later on Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, wrote: "When in 1844 I went from Calcutta to the present Agra Province, I was carried about a thousand miles in a palanquin on men's shoulders, and it took some three weeks to toil through...There were no other means of travelling through the richest and most civilized parts of India. Speaking, generally, roads and bridges had only begun to appear; railways were not thought of....."

6. *Parliamentary papers, House of Lords, Report from Committees*, 1852-53, vol. XXXIII, Anendix 'C'.

7. Kaye, *Administration of the East India Company*, p. 306.

8. Metcalfe's Minute dated September 27, 1837, vide *National Archives of India, Home Department, Judicial Branch Proceedings*, no. 10 of May 2 1844.

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Bombay-Agra Road was, however, unmacadamized in the Pre-Revolt days.[9]

For the convenience of the travellers within the North-Western Provinces the Government constructed many roads connecting the different areas and crossing the whole Province. One road connected Pilibhit with Agra by a line running through Bareilly and Badaun. A second road connected Mirzapur with Jabalpur (in the present Madhya Pradesh) while a third road connected the Ganga-Yamuna Doab with the Saugor and Narbada Territories (formerly in the North-Western Provinces and now in the Madhya Pradesh) via Kalinjar in the Banda territory.[10] Besides the abovementioned broad metalled roads, a large number of unmetalled *Kankar* roads as well as *kachcha* mud roads were constructed by the Provincial Government. They were utilized by the people for going from one place to the other. It should be noted here that Agra, being the capital of the North-Western Provinces, was well-connected with all parts of the country.

During the first half of the nineteenth century travelling in the North-Western Provinces, as in fact throughout India, was difficult as well as dangerous. Danger lurked not only for the rich, but also for 'a poor naked fellow running on foot, loaded with a packet of letters.'[11] A great danger was felt by the people from the thags and the dacoits who infested practically the whole of Northern India.[12] Travellers had, therefore, to travel either in groups or be accompanied by a host of followers and servants. Robert J. Minturn, Junior, an American traveller visiting India and the North-Western Provinces in 1856-57, had to engage eighty-six attendants in his journey from Agra to Bombay which he made in the company of two fellow Americans and an Englishman.[13] In order to provide security on the highways,

9. *Parliamentary Papers, House of Lords, Report from Committees*, 1852-53, vol. XXXIII, Appendix 'C'.

10. *CR*, vol. XXI, article on Thomason, p. 494.

11. Jacquemont, *op. cit.*, p. 159, Jacquemont's letter to his father dated February 10, 1831.

12. Sleeman, *Report on the Depredations Committed by the Thag Gangs of Upper and Central India*; Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug*; London, *Narrative of a Journey Through India.*

Gangs of robbers and dacoits haunted the public highways and perpetrated crimes of all sort, most frequently by violence attended with murder and death and committed at night. Treasures and other portable articles were the objects of attack. Dacoity was followed as a profession by some influential persons and landlords of the pre-British days who had been uprooted by the British conquest and the new land system introduced by the new regime. These uprooted people were joined by the bad characters and professional robbers and thieves of the area.

13. Robert J. Minturn in his travel diary *From New Your to Delhi* states that he and Gibson used dollis which needed twelve bearers each, while the other two passengers used *palkis* which had sixteen bearers each; the baggage was carried by eight porters, while six bearers were required for kitchen utensils and stores; and four torch-bearers led the way. A cook who went with them also had a doli with twelve bearers, thus raising the number of the caravan of servants *minus* the cook to eighty-six. Then there were the four travellrs and the cook—a total of ninety-one people moving together.

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Lieutemant-Governor James Thomason 'caused the watch and ward to be strengthened all along the line of roads, police stations to be placed at frequent intervals, and caravanserais and rest-houses to be created at suitable stages.'[14] Arrangements for the safety of travellers' lives and properties were made on all the Trunk roads while they passed through the territory of this province. On the Grand Trunk Road alone 1,547 policemen were posted between the Karmanasa river (on the Bihar frontier) and Delhi ' to patrol all night .'[15]

Travelling those days could be done in two ways—either by arranging for the conveyance and the guides through some private agency or through the Post Office. It was usual for the well-to-do persons to travel by *dak*, *i.e.*, by the Post Office. The mode of travelling by *dak* has been described by a contemporary traveller as follows: ' A *dak* is laid in this manner: you go to the tapal or Post Office, at the station in which you may be residing and tell the officials you wish a *dak* laid to such a place, with eight or twelve bearers, as the case may be; the Post Office authorities take care that all through the route relays of bearers are in readiness every four or five miles; they tell you how much the expense of the journey is, and you pay the money to the Post Office accordingly before starting. In long *daks*, as mine was, it is usual for the Post Office authorities to ask you to give the security of a friend resident in the station you are leaving, for demurrage, should any delay in the journey be caused by the traveller.'[16] Along with the relay of bearers was introduced the *dakgari*, a new device to carry passengers on wheel carriage through the Post Office and thus discard travel by palanquins.[17] The latter was, obviously, a cheaper and quicker mode of travel. Another contemporary traveller informs us that a *dak* journey normally began after dark, and in the palanquins, as also in the *doli*, every possible arrangement was made to make the traveller comfortable so that he could ' recline at full length and slumber away the night—or read ' as he pleased. The palanquins had ' two dozen complete changes ,' and there was a break of the journey regularly for breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner.[18] Whether or not journey by palanquin and *doli* was comfortable, one cannot say with certainty in these days of railways and aeroplanes and the luxury coaches. One is puzzled when one finds Wallace, waiting in 1821 and telling us that it was very comfortable,[19] while Fane, writing in 1836 and complaining

14. Temple, *James Thomason*, p. 174.
15. *CR*, vol. XXI, p. 499.
16. Landon, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.
17. Crooke, *The North-Western Provinces of India*, p. 165.
18. *Sketches of India for Fireside Travellers by 'An Officer'*, pp. 215-16.
According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar the writer was R. G. Wallace. See the copy of the book belonging to Sir Jadunath Sarkar.
19. *Ibid.*

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of the bad roads, the inconveniences of travel in the North-Western Provinces and of ' having nearly every bone in one's body broken by the jolting of our palanquin carriage over these execrable roads.....'[20] This difference in opinion of the two travellers may be due to their approach and the point of view from which they looked at things. One thing, however, is certain and it is that some improvements had surely been made in the roads and the means of transport between 1820 and 1836 though the Trunk Roads were constructed only after Fane had expressed his inconveniences.

The Provincial Government maintained complete control and supervision on the Grand Trunk Road and maintained relays of bearers and horses after about every ten miles in order to carry the mail and the passengers. Therefore, this road was safer, though the cost of travelling by *dak* was higher. For example, a journey from Calcutta to Banaras cost seven hundred and sixty rupees in a palanquin.[21] The Agra—Bombay Road, however, had no relay system, and the porters once employed had to go all the distance between any two stations on this road. When, for instance, Minturn and Gibson travelled from Agra to Bombay, the porters and the *palki* and *doli* bearers employed at Agra had to carry them the whole distance which was divided into thirty stages. The bearers had to find their own food and clothing and had to make the trip back from Bombay empty-handed and unpaid, for their guilds forbade their taking a return load. Naturally, the journey from Agra to Bombay was much more risky and hazardous. It cost each passenger two hundred and four rupees, and he had to engage twelve porters at the rate of seventeen rupees each for the whole journey.[22]

Inspite of all these difficulties of travel in the early years of the nineteenth century, the officials of the East India Company had the best of it and travelled in full luxury and complete comfort. Jacquemont's testimony about the daily routine and the luxury of a Collector on his tours is really very valuable and interesting. Jacquemont records : ' I found.....a Collector on his rounds, with his wife and little child. He had an elephant, eight carts as mine was, two cabriolets and a special carriage for his child, two palanquins, six saddle and carriage horses, and to move them from own bungalow to another, from sixty to eighty porters, not to speak of at least sixty household servants. He dresses, changes his clothes again, breakfasts, has tiffin, dines and has tea in the evenings exactly as he does in Calcutta, dispensing with nothing. Glass and China are unpacked and packed

20. Fane, *Five Years in India*, vol. I, p. 99.
21. Crooke, *The North -Western Provinces of India*, p. 165.
22. Minturn, *From New Yourk to Delhi.*

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up again overnight; four times a day there are brilliantly polished silver, clean linen, etc.,[23] etc.,' A great contrast indeed between the life of an ordinary man and a handsomely paid official. Let it be noted that Jacquemont was a botanist who had come to India for his researches and was not short of money.

The roads in the North-Western Provinces were constructed and repaired out of the proceeds from a toll tax on public ferries which was deposited with the Road Fund. Another source of income for the Road Fund was the Road Cess which was one per cent of the revenue and was collected by the Road and Ferry Fund Committee.[24]

It may be noted in this connection that for a considerable time the Government of the North-Western Provinces was not connected with the public works like the construction of roads and dams and bridges directly. From the beginning of the East India Company's administration in the Upper Provinces the public works were in the charge of an 'incompetent' Military Board which 'mismanaged a parsimonious expenditure.' These activities were outside the scope of activities of the Lieutemant-Governor.[26] The interest that the Lieutenant-Governors of the North-Western Provinces and the Governor of the Agra Presidency took in the public Welfare activities is, therefore, worthy of recognition and praise. It was in the interests of more efficient administration and in the interests of public welfare that they took interest in the roads and the highways of the Province. The inefficient Military Board was replaced in 1854 by a Public Works Department in the time of Lord Dalhousie.[27] The new Department was to look after and contruct roads, canals, jails treasuries and other public buildings and also aid in the laying of the railway lines and the telegraph wires. Each province was to have its own public Works Department, and that of the North-Western Provinces proved to be one of the best in the country.[28] The functions of the Public Works Department became quite extensive after the Great Revolt of 1857-58.

23. Jacquemont, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
24. *CR*, vol. XXI, p. 498.
25. Hunter, *The Marquess of Dalhousie*, p. 200.
26. Temple, *op. cit.*
27. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. IV, p. 307.
28. Dharma Bhanu, *History and Administration of the North-Western Provinces*, 1803-1853.

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THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, A SKETCH OF HIS CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY

DR. MANMATH NATH DAS

The Marquis of Dalhousie by a condicil to his will sealed up all his private papers from the scrutiny of his contemporaries and left instructions to his descendants to keep the Papers sealed for fifty years from his deaht. His early biographers as well as the early historians on his administration could not take into consideration the Dalhousie Papers, and on account of this, could not get a clear pitcure of the man on whom they wrote. Arnold, Argyll, Jackson, Trotter and Hunter, all had to suffer from this drawback. Some of them complained against Dalhousie that he kept them in the dark. The latest biographer of Dalhousie who wrote in this century was William Lee-Warner, the first man to have opened the Dalhousie Papers which were lying in sealed boxes either in the Dalhousie Castle or in the Colstoun House of the Governor General. Lee-Warner wrote his book rather in haste,[1] and in giving greater emphasis to Dalhousie's wars and annexations, he not only failed to describe in this proper perspective the administrative measures of that great Governor General but also to give an intimate picture of the man.

The mass of Dalhousie Papers are now open to scholars in the Scottish Record Office at Edinburgh. The Papers of some of Dalhousie's contemporararies like John Lawrence, Charles Wood and John Hobhouse are available in the British Museum and the Old India Office Library in London. These Papers throw sufficiently new light on the character and personality of a man who was undoubtedly one of the most dynamic and original administrators among the British in India. Below is an attempt to give a sketch of Dalhousie's character and personality as available from original and contemporary sources.

Before Dalhousie was appointed the Governor General of India, he had achieved his fame as one of the promising politicians of Great Britain. Young Dalhousie was conscious of his own merit and was

1. The great grand-daughter of Dalhousie, while I was going through Dalhousie's Personal Diary, told me that Lee-Warner took the mass of Dalhousie Papers for too short a period and finished his book in less than six months' time.

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ambitious enough to dream of a brighter future. As early as 1841, his name was discussed as a prospective candidate for Governorship of Madras. But to Dalhousie, Madras seemed to be too small a sphere. He said, ' I have a seat in the House of Lords.....There is no other young man in the House of Lords of my standing at all. Is it not my line to improve the advantage which my approved commencement has given me, work on towards a leading position in the House of Lords, profit by the fortunate opening as rapidly as I can, make hay while the sun shines and there are no rivals to share my crop with me; and so secure at this early stage of my public life a standing of my own? "Out of sight out of mind" is more speedily made true in London and politics than any where else. If I go to Madras, who at the end of five years when I return will know my name ?[2]

It was Sir Robert Peel who recognised the merit of Dalhousie and while making him the President of the Board of Trade, gave him a seat in the Cabinet. Dalhousie worked efficiently and managed the railway affairs of England successfully. The experience which he gained in the Board of Trade enabled him in future to give to India her first railway lines. Once he defined his railway policy to Peel thus : ' We shall meet the wishes of the public—we shall benefit the parties really interested—and I feel satisfied shall do injustice to none.'[3] It was said that " Among the business-like men whom Sir Robert Peel gathered round him in his last memorable Administration, none became more honourably known as an efficient man of business than Lord Dalhousie as President of the Board of Trade. He had established a reputation 'by reducing to order the chaos of work which inundated his department in 1845.'[4]

After the fall of the Peel ministry, the Whigs offered him the Chairmanship of the Railway Commission. But Dalhousie ridiculed them saying, ' The Whigs have thrown their other fly for me ; but the water was too clear, the fly badly dressed, and the fish would not rise."[5]

But finally the Whig Government made him to agree to go out to India as Governor General. He was the choice of the Court of Directors, the Board of Control as well as of the British Prime Minister. This was something unique and had seldom happened. Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the India Board, said to Lord John Russell, the British Prime Minister, ' I do not think that a better choice could have been, under all the cirmustances, made, and I am sure that, it will

2. Baird, *Private Letters of Dalhousie* (to be abbreviated as *PL*), pp. 8-9, Dalhousie to Couper, 14 December 1841.

3. *British Museum, Add. Mss.* 40, 590 ff. 18-24.

4. *The Economist*, 14 July 1855.

5. *PL*, p. 17, 29 August1846.

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give very general satisfaction.'[6] When Dalhousie heard that he had been appointed by a unanimous vote of the Court of Directors, and that the Cabinet received it most cordially, he said, 'I will do my best to justify the good opinion entertained of me by the Court and by Her Majesty's Government.'[7]

Dalhousie was the youngest man who assumed the responsibilities of the Indian Empire, and was full of vigour. But he had a great drawback. He was already physically a broken man before he left for India. Hobhouse noted in his diary shortly before Dalhousie's departure, 'There was no afternoon Church so we took a walk. Lord Dalhousie has an affection of the Kidneys and could not leave the house. He told me his complaint was caused by over work or rather by relaxation from it. On quitting office he became ill. I do not like the appearance of his health at all. In other respects everything about him is satisfactory.'[8]

The youngest Governor General reached India in January 1848. His age seemed to be remarkable to many. He writes in his Diary, a Maratha Subadar 'looked at me intently for some time. "You are very young" he said. I laughted and said I had the more time for work before me. He assented, but more than once during our conversation he returned to his remark "You are very young." He told me he had served long with Colonel Wellesley Sahib and had been at the Battle of Assye with him.'[9]

Though young and physically weak, Dalhousie was very much alive to his duties and responsibilities. He noted in his Diary, 'If the Governor General stops, everything stops: if he is not wound up, the department of the Government can't go: the State machine has ipso facto run down. Every piece of business must originate with the Governor General—put through him—and bear his signature or opinion, before it can move, even in the wheel of routine.'[10] The country expected much from him. It was said of him that his 'European reputation is associated with the greatest of modern improvements. In India he has a noble career of usefulness before him, and England and Europe expect that, in the improved sprit of the present age, it will be distinguished by the triumphs of civilisation.'[11] Dalhousie was abmitious enough to associate his name with some of the gretest works ever done by the British in India. The introduction of the railways, tellegraphs,

6. *Home Misc. Broughton Papers* (to be abbreviated as *BP*), vol. 845, f. 206, Hobhouse to John Russell, 24 July 1847.
7. *Ibid.*, vol. 845, f. 282.
8. *Add Mss.* 43751, *Diary of Broughton*, vol. 8, ff. 29-80.
9. *Diary of Dalhousie*, 1848, part II.
10. *Diary of Dalhousie*, 1848, Part I.
11. *Friend of India*, 20 January 1848.

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and modern post was greatly due to him ; he played a prominent part in the construction of the Great Ganges Canal, and many canals in the Punjab. He did enough to lay down a scheme of vernacular education for the people ; he financed from his own pocket the Calcutta Female School and forced the Home authorities to give official recognition to female education in India ; and he played no small part in giving to India her first Universities. At the same time, like Bentinck in the past, he launched a vigrous campaign against such cruel social customs as Sati, infacticide, and human sacrifice. In brief, the era of Dalhousie was an era of reform, and in many of his reforms, he laid the foundations of Modern India.

A key to his success in most of his ambitious programmes and multifarious activities was his dauntless character. He was seldom prepared to act as an obedient servant of his masters at Home, seldom prepared to accept their order without protest if it went against his will. Had he been docile and subservient, the modern innovations in India might have been delayed indefinitely, because the Home authorities were indifferent to them. Dalhousie quarrelled with them, underrated them and had his measures carried through. Once Hobhouse complained, ' I have a long letter from Lord Dalhousie who is annoyed because the Secret Committee do not always praise him with uniform warmth. I shall write and tell him that praise is worth nothing from those who never venture to hazard an opinion nor tell honestly what they think. I am sorry his Lordship should be so touchy.'[12] Dalhousie said to a friend, ' Sir John Hobhouse addressed me as no gentleman would address his gamekeeper ; and that if I listened only to private feeling, and not to public duty, I would not remain a day under this man's orders. The more I think of it, the more furious I get ; and I never will forget it.'[13] About Sir Charles Wood he once wrote, " He has written me in a very disagreeable style by this last mail, quite unlike his usual courteus tone.....It galls one to be rated by a man whom you feel to be so much inferior to you.[14] He warned Wood, ' I am unable to comprehend the censorious tone which marks some portions of that letter. My experience here, however, has taught me that men who correspond over a space of 10,000 miles should watch their pens ; for ink comes to burn like caustic when it crosses the salt sea. I, therefore, repress the inclination to say what I feel as to some portions of your letter....."[15] Many a time Dalhousie took pleasure in ridiculing the Directors of the East India Company and in using the strongest possible terms against them.

12. *Home Misc., BP*, vol. 851, f. 10, Hobhouse to Washington, 20 Dec. 1848.

13. *PL*, p. 67, 1 May 1849.

14. *PL*, pp. 306-7, 28 June 1854.

15. *Wood Papers* (to be abbreviated as *WP*) Box, *India Board Correspondence*, Dalhousie to Wood, 29 June 1854.

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Equally strong was his attitude towards the subordinates who worked under him. Those who neglected duty, to them Dalhousie was most bitter. Those who worked well, to them he was unusually kind and sympathetic. He could complain against the Governor of Madras in following terms: 'I have long looked upon Sir Henry Pottinger as the greatest political impostor of the last ten years. He has proved it at Madras. He has done nothing, is doing and will do hothing. Some say he is imbecile; some say he is administratively impotent;—some that he is indolent. Whatever the cause, the effect is the same—the Presidency is stagnant and despairing.' On the other hand, when Col. Cautley finished the construction of Ganges Canal, Dalhousie wrote to Wood, 'By this mail we transmit to you the official account of the opening of the Ganges Canal.....I hall be surprised if this record does not make your heart swell a little within you—as mine has done—at the recital of deeds so honourable to our British name, and of such benefit to millions of the Indian race. If it does, and I know it will, then let me claim honour—high honour—for the man whose genious designed, and whose skill and energy and perseverance have wrought this great work."[17] In a private letter he said to a friend, 'Col. Cautley, the author of our great Ganges Canal, goes home by this mail... We have made a most earnest appeal to the Government, and if they don't K.C.B. him civilly they deserve to be drowned in the canal he has made.'[18] After a few days again he said, 'If they do refuse, I will raise a storm about their ears. For I will write straight to the Queen, as she permits me to do, and will lay before her what he has done for the glory of her crown and for the annals of her reign.'[19] Such sympathy towards a deserving man was only typical of Dalhousie's character. When O'Shaughnessy completed his first experimental line of electric telegraph, without waiting for sanction from Home, he immediately rewarded him with a lump sum of rupees twenty thousand. Stephenson, the real man behind the 'locomotive agitation' in India, Charles Raikes who fought against infanticide, Thomason who experimented with Vernacular education, Bethune who established a female school, and many other men like John Lawrence and Frederick James Halliday, could achieve success because of Dalhousie's prompt support, ungrudging help and cordial sympathy.

About Dalhousie himself, he was an untiring worker in spite of poor health, and took pride and pleasure in working. 'On 2nd January I left Mooltan, in sight of the Soliman mountains bounding India on the West; on 2nd March I reached Moulmein, and saw from it the

16. *WP*, Box, *India Board of Correspondence*, Dalohusie to Wood, 3 June, 1853.
17. *WP*, Box, *India Board Correspondenee* Dalhousie to Wood, May 1854.
18. *PL*, p. 301, 14 May 1854.
19. *PL*, p. 315, 26 August 1854.

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mountains of Burmah, which bound the Indian Empire on the east. It is a wide span, and I question whether any one Viceoy, since Kings were, has ever swayed his power between such far removed limits, or has been called by his duty to so gigantic a journey of inspection,'[20] so wrote Dalhousie early in 1850. After the conquest he 'traversed the plains of the Punjab from North to South and from East to West' seeing quite enough of the several divisions 'to judge of the physical character of the new Province by his own personal observation.'[21] From Simla the Governor General wrote in May, 1851, 'We made 52 marches (18 of them in the hills) in 50 days, the marches averaging 10 miles, and crossed six large rivers—four of the six unbridged—and one of them without boats even, which we crossed in inflated buffalo-skins. So the Governor General does not always, as the newspapers say, make, 'a progress in great state,' but sometimes in good hard marching.'[22] From Roorkee he said in November, 'A forty miles' ride next day and a twenty a day after that brought us into camp here. My object is to see the great works of the Ganges Canal, the Engineering College, etc., which are here.'[23]

Few Governors General moved as widely and as frequently as did Dalhousie in the length and breadth of India, when there was no rail, and the roads were far from being modern. Few, too, could work as hard as he did. When Lady Dalhousie died on her way to England, Sir Charles Wood consoled Dalhousie, 'When I think of the sad intelligence which will reach you by this mail, I have hardly the heart to write to you about public or general matters; and yet I belive that the kindest thing I could do would be, if it were in my power, to call upon you for some great and active exertion which might occupy you altogether, and prevent your brooding, if it be possible, over your bereavement.'[24] Dalhousie replied, 'You need not fear my abandoning business. I have done so but for one day. I have full conviction that unceasing employment alone can save me from being reduced, in my loneliness here, to a state of utter uselessness.'[25] As time passed Dalhousie began to sink more and more under the pressure of works which he had himself created. He had extened the empire and increased his power. Once he said, 'I have held in this my pressent office, power—not the name but effectual power, patronage, and position, practically above what I can ever hold again. I have won honours, rank, and reputation. Ambition has nothing more to offer me that I

20. *PL*, p. 112, 4 March 1850.

21. *Home Series, Miscellaneous*, vol. 761, Henry Elliot to Board of Administration, 28 February 1851.

22. *PL*, p. 163, 16 May 1851.

23. *PL*, p. 183, 25 November 1851.

24. *WP, Letter Book*, vol. III, f. 78, Wood to Dalhousie, 8 May 1853.

25. *WP*, Box, *India Board Correspondence*, Dalhousie to Wood, 16 June 1853.

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want.....On the other-hand, I am worn by labour ; I am sick of public life ; I have earned the right to be henceforth obscure, and obscure I wish to be, though never idle.'[26]

Through his hard labour and extreme determination, Dalhousie could achieve two things, he completed the creation of British Empire in India through wars, conquests, annexations and lapse, and began the process of modernising India through Western innovations, spread of education, and social reforms. That he was a great imperialist, and a relentless enemy of the Indian Princes, there is no doubt. In his systematic attempt to extinguish the princely class, he wanted to spare none. He wrote : ' The king of Oude seems disposed to be bumptious. I wish he would be. To swallow him before I go would give me satisfaction. The Old King of Delhi is dying. If it had not been for the effect folly of the Court, I would have ended with him the dynasty of Timour.'[27] At one time in 1853 Dalhousie seriously thought of going back to England on grounds of health. But Home authorities did not want to relieve him the Governor Generalship. Dalhousie finally agreed to stay on, but on one condition. This is what he said to Wood, ' I would ask you to tell me frankly whether you wish to make a change in the Summer of 1854, or whether it would fall in with your plans and wishes to keep me here as long as I can stay.....

' If I were to take Oude in hand, and if the period fixed for my relief were to come before I had completed my business, my care for my own reputation would be stronger than even my desire to get home, and I would naturally wish to ask to stay and finish my handy work and not to give my successor the honour which I should have had the real merit.'[28]

About Nagpore he said, ' It is very satisfactory to know by anticipation that our act in treating Nagpore as a lapse will be appoved. So much has the matter been regarded as a matter of course here, and so little interest has it excited, that for ten days the newspapers never even noticed the Gazette in which the Resident was converted into the Commissioner of Nagpore.'[29]

But such a foe of the princes was nevertheless a friend of the people. His Papers reveal his deep feeling for the welfare of the people and behind most of his useful measures two things are noticed, his personal

26. *PL*, p. 260, 23 July 1853.

27. *PL*, p. 262, 18 August 1853.

28. *WP*, Box, *India Board Correspondence*, Dalhousie to Wood, 18 October 1853.

29. *WP*, Box, *India Board Correspondence*, Dalhousie to Wood, 18 March 1854.

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ambition, and sympathy for the a population over which he ruled. Behind most of his work his main aim was to leave behind ' an heritage for which posterity will be grateful.' Unlike Curzon, he deeply admired the Indian people.

Dalhousie dedicated his life to India. He came in not too good a health, and by over-work, he ruined himself. ' I landed in Calcutta an invalid, almost a cripple. During all 1848 I was never one hour free from pain, and often attacked by the illnesses of India,' wrote Dalhousie in July 1849.[30] The malady increased. In January 1853 he complained, ' Ever since I landed here now five years ago and still, I go through much suffering, and have ailments which have damaged, are damaging, and will damage me.....I do not belive that, during the last two years, I have been one single month free from cold, constant relaxation of the membrane, loss of voice, and a malaise most distressing. Every now and then severe ulceration takes place, as at Rangoon..... I can't ever walk as other men walk ; frequently I can't stand, but limp like a lameter. And I am rarely free from the pain of it for twenty-four hours together. This is my life.'[31] His health at times caused great concern to Home authorities. With the Crimean war going on in Europe, Dalhousie's presence in India was felt to be of great use, and Wood warned him, ' I am only afraid that your zeal carries you too far, and that you do not allow yourself the recreation or to take the exercise which is desirable for your health. On the most utilitarian principles you ought to keep yourself in the most perfect working condition.'[32] Dalhousie assured him, ' I think it right to say that although it (health) has been the cause of inconvenience and suffering to myself, it has never incapacitated me for my daily work. If it should do so, I would not retain office for a month.'[33]

But yet Dalhousie was sinking fast. The Indian railways were primarily his achievement and he took delight in every stage of their construction. But when the Bengal line was opened in February 1855, the Governor General was too weak to participate in the ceremony. He apologised to Stephenson, ' I regret very much to be obliged to inform you that I find myself unable to take more than a partial share in the ceremonies of your opening on Saturday next.....I shall be present at Howrah : but I am conscious that I am wholly unfit for the performance of the remainder of the task ; which would involve a Railway journey of 150 miles—a mid-day banquet and the addressing of 400

30. *PL*, p. 82, 10 July 1849.

31. *PL*, pp. 240-41, 15 January 1853.

32. *WP*, *Letter Book*, vol. VI, f. 119, Wood to Dalhousie, 24 October 1854.

33. *WP*, Box, *India Board Correspondence*, Dalhousie to Wood, 16 December 1854.

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people; under tents in a Bengal sun.'[34] In his Diary he noted with pain, 'I was obliged to decline going to Burdwan, and limited my own performance to attending at the Station; where a prayer was read by the Bishop and a blessing asked before the Train set out on its way. I stood long enough to witness the departure of the Train and then returned to Government House. It was a grievous mortification to me to be obliged to declare myself, for the first time, unable to perform a duty expected of me.'[35] His health caused anxiety to his subordinates in India. John Lawrence declared from Peshawar, 'It will be a public misfortune if he has to go home[3]'.[6] In June, John Lawrence again said, 'As for the Governor General, I hardly know what to think of him. Poor man he seems very ill. He tells me he cannot walk across a room as smooth and even as a billiard board.'[37]

As Dalhousie's rule in India began to close, many people hoped for him a brighter future in England. 'I hope to see him Prime Minister some day yet,' said Lawrence.[38] But Dalhousie said in his farewell address, 'I have played out my part. And while I feel that in any case, the principal act in the drama of my life is ended, I shall be well content if the curtain should drop now upon my public course.

"I am wearied and worn, and have no other thought or wish than to seek the retirement, of which I stand in need, and which is all I now am fit for.'[39] Within four years after leaving India Dalhousie died.

34. *DP, Miscellaneous Letters to Various Persons in India*, vol. IX, Dalhousie to Stephenson, 1 February 1855.

35. *Diary of Dalhousie*, 1855.

36. *Lawrence Papers*, no. 4a, f. 23, Lawrence to Dorin, 26 March 1855.

37. *Ibid.*, f. 229

38. *Ibid.*, f. 301.

39. Hurkaru, 6 March 1856.

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THE ECHOES OF THE MUTINY IN UPPER ASSAM (1857)

Dr. H. K. Barpujari

Until the middle of 1857, the placid atmosphere of the valley of the Brahmaputra remained unruffled by the convulsions of the Sepoys in Meerut, Delhi and Kanpur, nor their back eddies had much repercussions on the local regiments; although, the harrowing tales of the massacres reached their ears from the very outset. The number of Hindustanees in the Regiment were, in fact, not many; their demand for higher battas, caste prejudices and particularly susceptibilities to the hostile climate, actuated the Government to entrust, more and more, the defence of the North-East Frontier on the local corps, who could stand on their own resources in an emergency and were inured to the rigours of the climate. The heterogenous nature of the regiment—consisting as it did of the Nepalees, the Manipurees, the Rabhas, the Jarrowas and the Doaneahs—combined with comparatively settled and peaceful life enjoyed by them, made even the Western Sepoys to be rather indifferent, if not loathful, to the occurrences in Northern India. Major Jenkins, the Commissioner of Assam, therefore, flattered himself to report[1] that inspite of 'pressing invitations of the rebels" the two local Regiments in Assam have not only expressed their attachment and loyalty to the Government, but some of them even volunteered their services for employment against the rebels, wherever they may be.

The situation, however, changed towards the close of July, 1857. The defaction of Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur, and the Mutiny of the Danapur Regiments, in Bihar, produced a spirit of restlessness amongst the Sepoys of the First. Assam Light Infantry Battalion, in Upper Assam They were persuaded to believe the current notion that the British rule which was to last for only one hundred years had actually come to an end; that the Sepoys had reinstated the Emperor on the throne of Delhi and that the latter had already occupied the greater part of Hindustan. That the English would soon quit Bengal and Assam too;[2] Could they not swim in the troubled waters? At this psycholgical moment, there arrived at the military lines of the detach-

1. *Judicial Proceedings*, Bengal, 1857, 10 August, no. 64.

2. *Judicial Proceedings*, Bengal, 1858, 14 January no. 155. Deposition of Trilochan, 12 Nov. 1857.

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ment at Golaghat, in the District of Sibsagar, Nirmal Hazari and Peali alias Mohesh Chandra Barua, two confidential agents on the part of the disaffected Ahom Prince Kandarpeswar Singha[3] alias the Saring Raja, with tempting baits : 'The Raja would double the pay of the Sepoys and give the Native Officers pay like "Jongie Paltan" if all the Sepoys would join and get him the Country.' Saikh Vikoon, the Subadar of the regiment, readily agreed and accepted the proffered offer. The Sahibs will be killed and the Raja will be placed on the Guddi ; he will have to furnish rasud, ball and powder.[4] Negotiations were carried on, under similar terms, by Raja's agents with the Sardars of the Regimental Headquarters at Dibrugarh ; and the latter, through their messages and personal interviews with Kandarpeswar Singha confirmed the agreement that was reached at Golaghat.

The Sepoys were, thus, spurred into activity by the intrigues at Jorhat, where the Saring Raja was maturing plans to unfurl the standard of revolt against the British. The guiding spirit of the whole plot was, however, his Dewan, Maniram Dutta Barua, then residing in Calcutta. Through his numerous letters couched in most seditious terms, Maniram goaded the Young Prince to plunge headlong into the daring project ; and through his friends, mainly Madhu Mallick, the Bengalee Mokhteer, he prepared the ground for the insurrection. Peali Barua, Senchoa Barua, Nowbaisha Phukan, Gandhia Barua, Saru Gohain, Ugrasen Gohain, Kamala Barua and several others responded to the call of Maniram.[5] The Amolahs of the Local Courts blessed, if not actively participated ; while a number of Mouzadars of the district promised to supply the rasud and volunteers required for the purpose.[6] The preparation made by the rebels and the alarm, thereof, soon spread far and wide. The European Planters of Upper Assam left their gardens and took shelter at Gauhati. 'The Keyas (Marwari merchants), the Beparis, and the villagers buried their property in daily dread of Sepoys looting the place.'[7]

Major Jenkins, The Commissioner of Assam, was rudly awakened, about the middle of August, 1857, on the receipt of a communique from Captain Holroyd, the Principal Assistant of Sibsagar to the effect, that 'two or three native officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, of the First Assam Light Infantry, on duty, with a detachment at Golaghat, proceeding on leave through Jorhat, had coming and going,

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Judeicial Proceedings*, Bengal, 1858 ; 29 July, no. 115 vide Depositions nos. 1 to 6.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Judicial Proceedings*, Bengal, 1858 ; 14 January, no. 159a ; vide Deposition of Keramutallee, 7 November 1857.

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interviews with the Young Saring Rajah Kandarpeswar Singh and offered the assistance of the men of both the Regiments to reinstate him on his throne and maintain the country for him.'[8] In his message of 20 August, 1857, Major Hannay, the Commandant of the A.L.I. further reported, " at this station (Dibrugarh) what I have all along expected has taken place (*viz*).....an intended rise of the Muttocks and their intrigues also to get adherants."[9]

The time was, indeed, highly inopportune. To protect the lives and properties of the Englishmen, there was not a single European soldier, at this juncture, in the whole of the North-East Frontier. Even, if the authorities in Calcutta could spare some troops, it would be a question of time before they could reach and meet any emergency in Upper Assam. A sudden and concerted move on the part of the Sepoys of both the Regiments of Assam Light Infantry at Gauhati and Dibrugarh would have doubtless rendered the position of the few European officers and Planters in Assam extremely precarious.

Fortunately, most of the Jarrowas and the Nepalees of the Second Battalian at Gauhati remained passive and loyal, in spite of the pressure and persuations of the Hindustanees.[10] At Dibrugarh, the situation was far from being serious. To tide over the crisis, Major Hannay, the Commandant of the A.L.I., called on Captain Lowther, the Second in Command from Sadiya, and summoned the Rabhas, the Manipurees, the Nepalees and other non-Hindustanees or whom he would rely, from the outlying detachments, to guard the regimental lines at the Headquarter. Pickets were posted at strategic positions, and to prevent subversive act on the part of the mutiners, Gurkas were mixed up in the military lines and particularly in the artillary wing, which had so long been a monopoly of the Hindustanees.[11] Major Jenkins considered these measures rather inadequate to afford security in the event of an outbreak. While reporting these events and the general alarm prevailing throughout the valley, in his despatch of 29 August 1857, the Commissioner drew the attention of the Government of Bengal to the seriousness of the situation in Assam and urged them to despatch, as hurridly as possible, an European Force ' to save the province from the (impending) revoluton'[12] Even the appearance of a Steamer, it was fondly hoped, ' would instill confidence in all parties, secure the allegiance of any who might be wavering and repress any hidden feeling of disaffection.'

8. *Judicial Proceedings*, Bengal 1857 ; 17 September, no. 86.

9. *Ibid.*, Hannay to Jenkins, 20 August 1857.

10. *Judicial Proceedings*, Bengal, 1857 ; 17 September, no. 86.

11. *Ibid.*, Hannay to Jenkins, 200 August 1857 ; also 24 September 1857 no. 87 ; Bivar to Jenkins, 24 August 1857.

12. *Judicial Proceedings*, Bengal 1857, 17 September, no. 86.

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These new developments in the North-East Frontier, naturally, caused some anxiety in the Governor-General-in-Council. A small European Force under Lieutenant Davis was immediately ordered to be despatched for services in Assam. The party consisting of 104 men, one Sergent, and two officers left on 11 September 1857, on board the ghatta' with supplies in arms, and ammunitions including a couple of 12 Pounder Guns.[13]

The precautionary measures, referred to, impressed on the rebels that the English were frightfully afraid of their activities and that they would leave Assam at the earliest favourable opportunity. To finalise their schemes, meetings were now held almost every day at the Rajbari of the Saring Raja, which were largely attended by the rebels and occasionally by some of the Sepoys of the Regiment. The target date was fixed on the ensuing pujas, when it was expected that Maniram would also reach Jorhat with the 'ball and Powder'. The Sepoys, it was planned, would rise up simultaneously at the headquarter towns; they would seize the magazine and the treasury, kill the Europeans, burn their houses and then march on Jorhat to proclaim the Saring Raja as the King of Assam.[14]

On 29 August, 1857, the Subadar of the detachment at Golaghat was directed to withdraw the guards from the Naga Outposts at Jamuguri and Borpathar and to despatch hurridly fifty Sepoys to Sibsagar.[15] It was already in the air that a Steamer was on the way, and that the Sahibs were preparing to depart. About this time, on an urgent call, Mr. Masters, the Sub-Assistant of Golaghat, had also to leave for the Sadar Station. The Sepoys believed that distrbances had already broken out at the headquarters, and that the Sahibs will escape by the Steamer before they could kill them.[16] They would be failing in their duty, some of them felt, unless they march on immediately. At about 9 p.m. on the same day, there was a bugle call. The Sepoys thronged at the residence of Shaikh Vikoon, the Subadar of the Regiment. Keramutallee, the native doctor, who was an eye-witness of the event, narrated the procceedings, as follows:

"On arriving, I saw a number of men collected in front of Subadar's house; in the midst the Subadar Shaikh Bheekun, Chunder Sing, Jamadar of Police and Ramtohol Sing, Kote Havildar were seated in morahs: the rest being on the ground.....Jelladar Misser, Bhola Panday Havildar and Swesehai Sing, (one after another) addressed the gathering–

13. *Ibid.*, 1 October, no. 306.

14. *Ibid.*, 1958; 14 January, no. 155, vide deposition of Trilochan, 13 November 1857.

15. *Ibid.*, 1857; 14 January, no. 159, vide deposition of Keramutullee.

16. *Ibid.*, 1858; 14 January, no. 155; deposition of Trilochan.

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'Hear brothers, if you are desirous of our own good and favour with the Rajah, you will listen to what we say and do waht we tell you without drawing back; and *whoever draws back or reveals anything shall be killed*; and *if he be a Mussalman, he will eat pig*; and *if a Hindu, he will eat cow, this shall be the curse on him.* What, are we not born of men, that we should desert the cuase.....Let us sound that bugle and each man taking five Ghullali with him *let us go this night to Jorhat*; first cut Hurronath Burroah's[16a] head off. It is said that Raghoobeer Sing Jamadar is there with 20 Sepoys and is loyal to the Government, if we can make him join us, well; if not, then we can kill him; We will then go and put the Rajah on the throne and proclaim him...We will go at once on Sibsagar and first set fire to Holroyd Sahib's house and the rest of the houses and kill all the Europeans there. We will make the Sepoys join us and take the Magazine and treasury. We can leave some men there to keep charge and go on with the rest to Debrooghur; there set fire at the houses and kill all the Europeans....."[17]

'I will go out at once' so saying, Jelladur stood up; and several Sepoys agreed to what he had proposed. Some wanted to wait till the morning; while a few others demurred and left the place. The Subadar, who had been reticent so long, desired to postpone the march till the arrival of the men from the Naga outposts. The Sepoys could not arrive at a decision. The altercation and the alarm, thereof, continued till late at night.[18]

Two days later, it was found Raghunath Singh had taken over the Command of the detachment. The new Subadar introduced, forthwith, vigorous measurres of discipline, banned unauthorized gatherings and stopped outsiders from entering into the military lines.[19] Had the mutineers acted according to their original plan or even the Sepoys of Golaghat marched on in a body on that night or on the day following to Sibsagar, which was then in an absolutely defenceless State, confusion might have ensued and the infection, might have spread to the Headquarters at Dibrugarh. But the Sepoys were divided in their opinion, which ruined their cause and the cause championed by Maniram.

Major Hannay, immediately on receipt of the intelligence of the occurrence at Golaghat, secured the arrest of Shaikh Vikoon, Jelladar Misser, Chander Sing and other mutineers of the whole Battalian and

16a. He was the Daroga at the Station of Jorhat and was the Principal informant of the activities of the rebels to Captain Horoyd, the Principal Assistant of Sibsagar.

17. *Ibid.*, no. 159, deposition of Keramutallee.

18. *Ibid.*, also no. 155, deposition of Trilochan.

19. *Ibid.*, vide deposition of Keramutullee.

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removed them to Dibrugarh to stand for trial before a Court-Martial.[20] About the same time, Captain Holroyd intercepted a bundle of letters, alleged to be written by Maniram or under his direction, which proved the complicity of the Raja and the Dewan in a plot to overthrow the British Government in Assam.[21] On the midnight of September 7, 1857, the Saring Raja was arrested at his own residence at Jorhat.[22] This was followed by the seizure of Maniram in Calcutta and apprehension in Upper Assam of Peali Barua, Madhu Mallick, Senchoa Barua, Kamala Barua, Dutiram Barua, Bahadur Gaon Bura and several others who were supposed to be involved, directly or indirectly, in the plot. Had there been a Neil or Taylor, perhaps, few of the rebels would have been spared the rope of the hangman, and the situation, too, would have drifted, become critical before long. Major Hannay and even Captain Holroyd, supposed to be the arch-enemy of the rebels, handled the situation so cautiously and tactfully that not a voice of protest was heard from the Regiment, nor was there much commotion in the civil population. When the arrest of the Raja was made known to them the Sepoys believed[23] that ' he would be kept either (at) Debru, Tezpur, Seebsagar or Gauhati .....wherever they took him, still he would be in their hands ; for everywhere there are Sepoys (Hindustanees).' They vainly hoped, that Jung Bahadur of Nepal with a force of 10,000 would be coming soon to their succour. Their hopes, however, were doomed to bitter disappointment on the evening of the 2nd October, 1857, when the Naval Brigade on board the Capital ' Haroonghatta ' disembarked at Dibrugarh.[24] The punishment subsequently inflicted on the ' prime movers ' of plot, including the Dewan Maniram, and the transportation of the rebel Leaders and mutinous Sepoys to the Andamands, wiped out effectively ' any lurking spirit of rebellion.' The abortive Mutiny of the Sepoys in Upper Assam strengthened the belief of the common men in the unbounded power of the British to preserve the law and order in the country.

20. *Judicial Proceedings*, Bengal 1858 ; 14 January, no. 159a, Hannay to the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, 16 November 1857.

21. *Ibid.*, 14 January, no. 154 ; Holroy to Jenkins, 22 November 1857.

22. *Ibid.*, 1857, 22 October, no. 276.

23. *Ibid.*, 1858, 14 January, no. 155 deposition of Trilochan, 13 November 1857.

24. *Ibid.*, 22 October, no. 152.

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MAHIDPUR IN 1857*

PROF. B. N. LUNIYA

Mahidpur is about seventy-five miles from Indore (Madhya Pradesh–Central India region). It is a very old town with a strong fort on the hills. It is six miles away from the Mahidpur Road Railway station on the Bombay-Delhi line of the Western Railway and linked together with Indore, Ujjain and other big towns of Malwa with roads. The river Kshipra with its small tributary surrounds the fort and the town on the three sides and thus creates natural defence for the place. Tradition has it that the famous serpant-sacrifice and other sacrifices were performed here on the banks of the river Kshipra and a huge hill of ashes on the right bank of the river is pointed out as a testimony for it. When the Holkars established their sway in Malwa, they set up one of their military stations at Mahidpur for their prolonged warfare in the Northern India. Later on, with the rapid advance of the British in Malwa a pitched and decisive battle was fought at Mahidpur in 1818 between the forces of the Holkar and those of the British, the latter inflicting a crushing defeat on the Holkar. Holkar has to accept a humiliating treaty and a British Cantonment was set up at Mahidpur.

In 1857 Major Timmins was the officer commanding a portion of the Malwa contingent at the Mahidpur Cantonment and Sadashiva Govind was the chief executive officer of the Holkar State at Mahidpur. He had entertained hostile designs against the British. Probably like other contingents of the British Cantonments in Central India, the sepahis of the Malwa contingent at Mahidpur were unfavourably inclined towards the British and were discontented with the British domination. The news of the outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut and the fall of Delhi and other places into the hands of the munineers impelled them to seek their own opportunity to break out into rebellion.

* This article is based on the original reports, letters, messages etc. of Shri Gangadhar Mukand, a Vakil of the Holkar Durbar, stationed at Mahidpur, Sadashiva Govind, the Amin of Mahidpur, Shri Ramchandra Rao, the then officiating minister of the Holkar Durbar, Major Timmins, officer commanding the Malwa Contingent at Mahidpur and Shri Ramrao Bhagwant, Chitnis Office Indore. All these were discovered recently in the Government records at Indore, once the Capital of the Holkar State.

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When Lt. Colonel H. M. Durand, the then British A.G.G. at Indore, ordered Major Timmins to send four risalas (companies of the cavalry sepahis) to Neemuch for safeguarding the British position there against, the mutineers, the Mahidpur cavalry sepahis marched for Neemuch. On their way they were joined by the sepahis of Agar, a military station of the British in Malwa. On the second June 1857 near Tal in Jaora state these sepahis were given the much hated greased cartridges by their officer Adjutant Hunt at the time of the parade. But they refused to accept them and secretly decided to mutiny. But the common sense and resourcefulness of Captain Barodie prevented the mutiny there for the time being. However, when the troops reached Malhargarh, fourteen miles away from Neemuch, they refused to march further against their brothern who had rebelled at Neemuch and mutinied on the 6th of June at 8 p.m. attacking and killing their two British Officers. This was the first mutiny of the sepahis of the Mahidpur Malwa Contingent. They were the second to break into open rebellion against the British in Madhya Pradesh in 1857, the first being the sepahis of the Neemuch Cantonment. After the munity some of them proceeded to Delhi, while others returned to Mahidpur to excite their brothern there. Similarly, two companies of the Infantry under Rahamtullah and hundred sawars under Gulkhan Risaldar Mahidpur Cantonment, deputed to protect the British at Indore, also expressed anti-British sentiments and activities and consequently they were ordered to return to Mahidpur. It is reported that instead of coming peacefully to Mahidpur some of them went to Jaora and persuaded the Nawab of Jaora to take up arms against the British, but in vain. Then they marched towards Delhi.

These incidents clearly reveal that the sepahis of the Mahidpur Cantonment were already British activities disaffected against the before June, 1857. Some of them mutinied and deserted their ranks, while others stayed on at Mahidpur waiting for a more suitable opportunity to strike blows at their enemy.

When the news of the Malhargarh mutiny reached Mahidpur, Major Timmins, fearing a similar occurance there, left Mahidpur for Lalgarh on the nineteenth June, accompanied by some European officers, probably to seek shelter there with the Dewan of the place. But the Dewan pursuaded the Major to leave Lalgarh as the Amin of Mahidpur would complain to Holkar Durbar against him for offering shelter to the Europeans. Consequently Timmins had to return to Mahidpur, but he had to pay Rs. 2000/- for safe conduct to Mahidpur. On the 9th of June in the absence of Major Timmins, the sepahis of the Mahidpur Cantonment, now joined by those who mutinied at Malhargarh, demonstrated their anti-British feelings and looted some of the Cantonments bungalows. The bungalow of Major Timmins was now occupied

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by the Walayati sepahis—Some of the residents of Mahidpur joined hands with these anti-British elements and forcibly entered the bungalow of the Major. When the guards of the bungalow protested they remarked, 'the bungalow belong to His Highness the Maharaja.' Iswariprasad the Subedar of the Cantonment protested to the Amin of Mahidpur against these anti-British demonstrations and urged him to take immediate action against them. The Amin instead of punishing and suppressing these anti-British elements and the mutinears, welcomed them and assured them of employment in the Holkar State forces. The Amin had already recruited some Walayatis and Makaranis.

Major Timmins also complained to the Amin against the Walayatis and desired him to take strong action against them. But the Amin replied to the Major that the Walayatis did not commit any crime and removed the watchman from the Major's bungalow without intimating to the Major about it. Consequently the Major lodged a complaint against the Amin in strong words to the A.G.G. at Indore and Holkar Durbar.

On the evening of the 2nd July a report about the outbreak of the Mutiny at Indore was received at Mahidpur and the Amin and his associates, feeling jubilant over it, spread the news quickly giving it a very favourable colour and immediately commenced recruiting in large number anti-British elements like the Sondhiyas, Makaranees, Walayatis etc. Some of the Walayatis were asked to patrol the vicinity of the cantonment and the Major's bungalow.

On the 3rd July, 1857 Shaikh Gawan Jamadar was deputed to foment troubles in the ranks of the cantonment sepahis and excite them as well as the ordinary servants of the cantonment to rebel against the Europeans and kill them or expell them from Mahidpur, while a few of the Amin's Walayatis began to saunter about the cantonment to procure information about the military preparations and secrets of the British.

All these encouraged anti-British activities in Mahidpur and consequently some of sepahis took up arms against the British on the 3rd of July, but they were quickly suppressed. However, the Amin tried to send the rebel troos to Indore to serve Maharaja Holkar and he also asked the rebel Risaledar Mohammad Sakur to enroll more troopers for his cavalry which he did immediately. Then the Amin induced the Munshi of Major Timmins to desert him and join the mutineers. He told the Munshi, 'I only tell you what is in your own interest. You should accept the service of the Maharaja Sahib and come to me. I shall send you to Indore with your papers. I shall recommend you for a dress of honour. Your status will be enhanced.

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You should put the infantry and artillary under my control. If you want to save the lives of the Europeans, you should ask them to escape from the this place.....We shall all march together from this place.....' But the Munshi proved loyal to the British.

Now the anti-British activities were intensified by the Walayatis and on the 4th of July a rumour was spread that at 2-0'clock in the afternon all the Europeans would be killed. The sepahis and the troopers of the Amin excited the people of the cantonment and the city to kill the Europeans, while the Amin tin the night of the 18th July launched a surprise attack on the cantonment from the river side with the help of some four to five hundred cavalry and infantry men brought from Dhulet. But the alertness of the cantonment guards and the British cavalry and infantry units foiled the attempt of the Amin. However, to strengthen his force the Amin deputed two persons on the 20th July to Tarana to bring to Mahidpur troopers and guns sent there from Indores, but in vain. In the meanwhile a message for the sepahis of Mahidpur was received from Subedar Hirasingh, once at Mahidpur, now serving Shahjada Ferozshah at Mandsaur, to desert their posts, join Ferozshah's army and bring their guns, ammunition etc. to Mandsaur.

All these circumstances coupled with the activities of the Amin smoothed the path for an open rebellion in Mahidpur. The Walayati sipahis of the Amin came to a secret understanding with the cavelry and infantry men under Major Timmins that when they (Walayatis) would fire five shots, they should come out, rebel and attack and kill their British Officers, Consequently on the morning of the 8th Nov. at 8—a.m. the British cantonment at Mahidpur was attacked by the Walayatis, Rohillas, Makaranaes, Sondhiyas and others, led by the Amaldar, the native police officer of Mahidpur. The Invaders numbered between fifteen hundred to two thousands. The British endeavoured to face the attack and immediately tried to put their men in battle array. But as planned before a large number of their own sipahis deserted their ranks and went over to the side of the enemy. The whole of their infantry refused to attack the invaders. One of the infantry officers Rahimtulla hoisted the green flag of Deen (religion) and joined the insurgents, followed by many Golandaz (artillarymen) and Muslims of the contingent. Only a portion of the artillery belonging to the Bheel Company stood firm to their guns. But the British did not lose their heart. They took up the position and began to feed and fire the cannon themselves. A battle followed and the firing continued from both sides without any interruption for a long time. Some of the British officers were killed in the action and one of their cannon burst. This slakened their firing considerably and encouraged the insurgents to rush forward on the British position with a loud uproar and soon they

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captured the British guns. At this the surviving British mounted their horses and escaped safely towards Ujjain. After the capture of the fort and the cantonment the insurgents set fire to the cantonment bungalows, stakes of hay, military barracks, hospitals, stables, etc. and so devastating was the fire that when Orr visted Mahidpur after a few days no trace was left of these.

After their victory the insurgents secured from the Amin a large number of carts, horses, provisions, fodder, fuel, equipment *etc.* besides Rs. two per head. Then the leaders of the insurgents enlisted a few more artillery men and new recruitment at the rate of Rs. 8 per month. On the 11th November all the insurgents, numbering about fifteen hundred left Mahidpur for Mandsaur with guns and sixty cart-loads of ammunition and equipment. On their way next day they had to fight a very desparate hand to hand battle with a British force under Orr, who was advancing towards Mahidpur to rescue the British there. The insurgents offered a stubborn resistance. While the battle was raging the British asked one of the leaders of the insurgents, a Rohilla, to surrender. But he refused. Then ensued a deadly struggle for life. He maintained his position fighting gallantly till a sharp spear of his antoganist pierced his breast. 'He fell upon the ground, cast one agonised withering look of a still unvanquished spirit on his face, threw his arms across his eys and died without a groan.' The desparate battle continued till the darkness of the night descended on the battlefield and enveloped it, and the insurgents disappeared leaving behind them some of their guns and stores. When the British regained their position and power in Central India, they got Sadashiva Rao, the Amin of Mahidpur, arrested and executed for his anti-British activities.

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THE REBELLION IN HYDERABAD IN 1857

SHRI NANI GOPAL CHAUDHURI

The year 1857 was a momentous year in the history of the British rule in India. In the month of June of that year the whole of Northern India was ablaze with the mutiny of the sepoys. It spread like a wild fire from one military station to another. Rumours about the reverses suffered by the British troops in the northern part of India were received with great pleasure and eagerly believed in by the people of Hyderabad. Gradually, the mutiny was spreading towards the south. In Central India Tantia Topi and the Rani of Jhansi became accredited leaders of the mutinous soldiers and captured the fort of Gwalior. Agents were sent by Nana Sahib to influence in his favour the Muslims of Hyderabad, who constituted the real military strength of the State, but he failed in his objective as they had been estranged from the Marathas by the bitter memories of the past. The situation might have taken a different turn if Muhammadan emissaries in favour of the emperor of Delhi were sent to rouse the feelings of the Muhammedan citizens of Hyderabad. A rebellion or mutiny of sepoys in Hyderabad which ocupies a central position in the Deccan, would have offered a serious threat to the English in the Deccan.

That rebellion of a very serious kind did not break out in Hyderabad was due to several factors. First, the Nizam and all great nobles of his court were staunch supporters of the English. Secondly, although Hyderabad was teeming with turbulent Arab, Rohilla and Afghan soldiers (attached to the nobles and jagirdars) who revelled more in lawlessness than in peace, absence of able leadership kept them inactive. With an able leader to rouse their sentiments and guide them, they would certainly have made Hyderabad a place too hot for the few English people who were living there. The gunpowder was dry but there was none to set fire to it. Thirdly, Colonel Davidson, the British Resident, was a very tactful and able officer who took every precaution to meet the situation if it worsened. Reports of the revolt in the north-western part of India reached the principal Indian bankers of Hyderabad as early as the middle of June, 1857, and excitement ran high in the city of Hyderabad. Several people tried to inflame the minds of the people with hatred to organize a rising against the British

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Government. But Davidson, the British Resident, did not consider even then that any disturbance beyond common street row would occur. Still he deemed it prudent to reinforce the Residency escort.[1]

On the 13th June, two inflammatory placards were posted on the walls of a mosque in the city of Hyderabad exhorting the people to rise against the British and fixing a day for a general rising. The people in the city of Hyderabad were agitated by rumours which were percolating from Northern India. A faquir who was addressing the peole in seditious language and assuring them that they would be joined by a regiment from Secunderabad, was apprehended and handed over to the minister.[2]

The regiment referred to by the faquir was suspected to be the 7th Light cavalry stationed at Sekanderabad. On the 8th June when the Resident was going to the city of Hyderabad, a trooper of the Resident's escort joined the crowd and exhorted the mob who had collected in the street to take part in the uprising against the English.[3] On the morning of the 15th June, the Resident desired that the regiment should be paraded for his inspection. At the conclusion of the parade the Resident addressed the troopers of the regiment regarding what he had heard in the city about them, though, he said, he did not believe it. An equiry was instituted afterwards by the Commander of the Hyderabad Subsidiary force to ascertain the correctness of the rumours about the regiment. The rumours proved to be absolutely false.[4]

In the morning of the 17th July, the Resident got the information through his assistant Thronhill that a jehad would be proclaimed against the British Government and he communicated it to the minister who refused to give credence to it.[5] At noon a seditious meeting took place in the great Mecca Mosque where a green flag, the symbolic colour of Islam, was hoisted. The crowd which assembled there, was dispersed by the Arab soldier who had been sent by the minister. At about one O'clock the minister sent a note to the Resident that the crowd had been dispersed and the rumour about the jehad was absolutely false.[6] At about two O'clock Muhammad Ghaus, the eldest son of the Jagirdar of Toorkapilly, who was one of the staunch supporters of the British in this crisis, gave the first information to the Resident of the outbreak of rebellion in the city and on the first move of the insurgents he rushed

1. *Secret Consultation*, 31 July 1857, No. 294.
2. Fraser, *Faithful Ally* p. 286.
3. *Secret Consultation*, 18 December 1857, No. 846.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 855.
5. Biggs, *Nizam*, vol. II, p. 80.
6. Fraser, *loc. cit.*, p. 286 ; Briggs, *loc. cit.*

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to the minister with the intelligence of it.[7] The Resident on receiving the information made every preparation for meeting the situation and by 2 p.m. he had the whole force of the Residency under arms. The defence of the Residency was placed under the charge of Major Briggs, his military secretary. The police arrangements of the Residency Bazar, were placed under Captain Thornhill, the Assistant Resident. So well planned were the police arrangements in the Residency Bazar which had twenty thousand inhabitants that not a single case of outrage or atrocity was reported during the outbreak.[8]

Only a quarter of an hour previous to the attack on the Residency, Resident got the information of it from the minister.[9] The minister did not expect that the Residency would be attacked by the insurgents and when they actually proceeded towards the Residency, troops were sent to stop them, but they had in the meantime advanced so far that it was impossible to stop them. The troops who went in pursuit, found that the men had already entered the boundary of the Residency, The soldiers did not advance further, fearing that the troops of the Residency might open fire upon them mistaking them for insurgents.[10]

At about four O'clock in the evening a band of Rohillas and Arabs led by the notorious Rohilla leader Toorbaz Khan and Maulavi Alauddin Khan, attacked the Residency. While they were engaged in breaking down one of the gates of the Residency garden, the Madras Horse Artillery opened fire upon them. This had the effect of dispersing the insurgents who then occupied two large houses with terraced roofs belonging to soucars (Indian Bankers) named Ubbu Shaib and Joygopal Das. From the roofs of these two houses the insurgents throughout the whole night kept on firing to which the Residency troops also replied with their guns. The Resident telegraphed to the Brigadier commanding the Hyderabad subsidiary force stationed at Secunderabad to send a reinforcement which arrived at about eight O'clock at night. Being thus reinforced the Resident was able to hold his own against the insurgents till morning.[11] In the morning the insurgents evacuated the two houses with the connivance of the Arab soldiers who had been sent by the minister to prevent their entry into the city[12]. Among the insurgents thirty-two men were killed and wounded by the fire opened by the Residency troops.[13] The Nizam offered a reward of four thousand rupees for the Capture of each of the two leaders of the insur-

7. *Foreign Consultation*, Nov. 1860 (Part A), No. 498.
8. *Secret Consultation*, 18 December 1857, No. 865.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, No. 860.
11. *Ibid.*, 18 September 1857, No. 865 (vol. 671).
12. *Ibid.*, no. 866.
13. *op. cti.*, vol. 11, p. 81.

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gents.[14] Jamadar Toorbaz Khan was taken prisoner after being severely wounded and was in the custody of the minister [15] He however escaped from confinement and was shot dead when he refused to surrender. Maulavi Allauddin Khan was caught and sentenced to transportation for life.[16]

Although the Muhammedan population in the city of Hyderabad was restrained from excesses by the chastisement which the insurgents suffered at the hands of the British army, their mood became sullen and sulky. Neither the minister nor the nobles of the court were in a position to control the rowdy elements of the city. Muharrum was near at hand. Apprehending that something might happen during that festival the minister requsted the Resident to reinforce the European troops in Hyderabad. The Resident could, of course, meet the whole armed population of Hyderabad with the help of the subsidiary force, but he could not entirely rely upon the Indian troops of that force. The position which Hyderabad occupied in Southern India, demanded that peace should be maintained at any cost in that state in order to preserve tranquillity in the whole of the Deccan. The Resident therefore telegraphed to Poona and Madras for European troops. With the arrival of European troops from Poona and Bangalore the Resident was in a position to meet any emergency during the Muharrum.[17] Salar Jung, the minister of Hyderabad, made arrangements for the preservation of peace during the Muharram festival. The Sikh and the Rajput troops had been posted in all the thoroughfares within the city and its suburbs, especially in the direction of the Residency.[18] The Nizam placed a thousand troops at the disposal of the Resident. Shums ul-Umara, a grand uncle of the Nizam by marriage, also sent to the Resident a body of troops. Some instructions given by the Major General Commanding of the Residency to his troops occasioned some excitement among a section of the people in the city, who gave out that the troops under the control of the Residency had stopped the Muharram procession at Secunderabad. The Resident's tactful tackling of the situation eased the tension among the people and the Muharram passed off peacefully.[19]

But the attempt to stir up the people in Hyderabad had not ceased even after the repulse of the attack upon the Residency in 1857. On the South-western corner of the Nizam's dominions lay the small principality

14. *Secret Consultation*, 18 December 1857—No. 869.
15. *Ibid.*, no. 866.
16. *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 82.
17. *Secret Consultation*, 18 December, 1957, No. 866.
18. *Ibid.*, 27th November 1857, No. 380.
19. *Ibid.*, 27th November, 1857—No. 386.

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of Shorapur. Formerly, it was a dependent state of Hyderabad. Subsequently, it became a protectorate of the English East India Company, and was looked after by the British Resident at Hyderabad. During the disturbance of 1857, it was rumoured that the Raja of Shorapur was engaged in treasonable activities. Captain Rose Campbell of the Hyderabad Residency was deputed to Shorapur to institute an enquiry. In the course of the enquiry, the Raja admitted that he had ordered the enlistment of troops. On the 7th of February, 1858 at about 5 p.m. the Raja's troops attacked a detachment of the Hyderabad contingent encamped before Shorapur and killed captain Newberry. On the next morning the detachment of the Hyderabad Contingent being reinforced, the Raja's army was routed. The Raja fled to Hyderabad where he surrendered himself. He was tried by a court-martial and was sentenced to transportation for life. But on his way to the Andamans he put an end to his own life.[20]

In the month of April, 1859, one Rang Rao who was carrying with him some seditious letters and one proclamation, was apprehended by a British military officer. The proclamation invited all the princes, chiefs and people of the Deccan to rise and join the army of Nana and exterminate the Englishmen. The man admitted that he was an emissary of Nana and was endeavouring to enlist troops under Nana's orders. Capital punishment was passed upon him by the Resident, but it was commuted to transportation for life by the Governor-General.[21]

But these attempts to rouse the people against the British did not bear fruit after the suppression of the insurrection in 1857. That rising was the climax of the anti-British movement. Its failure showed to the people of Hyderabad that the British force in Hyderabad was strong enough to suppress an anti-British insurrection if it was not backed by the Nizam and his nobles or by any person of rank. That the Resident was able to cope with the insurrection was due to the support he received from almost all men of position in Hyderabad. The Nizam and his minister, Salar Jung all along stood by the British Resident and the British interest. For his open and avowed support given to the British Government Salar Jung became very unpopular and was almost ostracised by the Muhammedan population. Attempts on his life were made several times, but neither the dread on this account nor the news of reverses suffered by the British Government in the north could move him

20. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 308-10.

*According to Madows Taylor the Raja was transported to a place (Chingleput ?) near Madras and while he was being escorted there he committed suicide on the way. Cf. Taylor, *The story of my life*, pp. 412-14).

21. Briggs, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 82.

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an inch from the line of conduct he had adopted towards the Company's regime from the beginning of the disturbance. Next to Salar Jung, the British Government was most indebted to Shums-ul-Umara for the preservation of peace in Hyderabad. He had great influence over the fanatic Muhammedans of the City. When the mind of the people of Hyderabad became agitated by a rumour given out by the insurrectionists that the military authorities of the British Residency were determined to stop the celebration of the Muharram, Shums-ul-Umara on receiving an explanation from the Resident at once interfered and quieted the mind of the excited people. The Resident was of opinion that had this noble of the Hyderabad court turned against the British Government, nothing would have stopped the rebellion extending throughout the State of Hyderabad. Yakub Ali Khan, the jagirdar of Toorkapillay, and his son Muhammad Ghaus supplied the Resident or his assistant with all secret information regarding any seditious movement in the city. The former had close connection with all the maulavis and persons of that class in the city and he made them believe that he was on their side and thus had access to all their secret counsels. Being thus supplied with secret information the Resident could forestall all seditious movement in the State. The prominent Hindu citizens of Hyderabad were not lagging behind the influential Muhammadans in helping the British Government. Ununt Reddy, the Zaminder of Mogulgeddi, was the actual captor of Toorbaz Khan who led the attack on the Residency. The heads of several Hindu Banking houses were willing to lend whatever sums were required by the Resident at a very normal interest.[22] Thus both the Muhammedan and the Hindu influential persons were, as it were, vying with each other in rendering help to the British Resident.

In the year 1860 those who had helped the Resident in maintaining peace in Hyderabad, were amply rewarded by the British Government. Both Salar Jung and Shams-ul-Umara received each a Khilat of the value of thirty thousand rupees. Others received presents of various values in accordance with the importance of the services rendered by them. But mention may be made here of the reward given to the Nizam. The Governor-General-in-Council requested the acceptance of presents of English manufacture valued at one lakh of rupees. These were presented to the Nizam by the Resident in an interview with him at a public Darbar. The Nizam in return forwarded for the acceptance of the Governor-General presents valued at one and a half lakh of rupees.[23] But these presents were insignificant in comparison with the territorial gains which the Nizam received from the British Govrnment in recognition of his faithful services. The principality of Shorapur

22. *Foreign Consultation*, November 1860 (Part A), No. 498.
23. *Political Consultation*, November 1861, Nos. 51-53.

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which had reverted to the British Government after the rebellion of the Raja, was made over to the Nizam. This principality was included among the territories which were handed to the Nizam by the treaty of 1861. Moreover, in the year 1861, the knighthood of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India which had been instituted a few months before was conferred upon the Nizam at a Darbar held for the occasion by the Resident on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of English.

Before the conferment of the honour the Resident was advised by the Governor-General to ascertain from the Nizam whether he was willing to receive the insignia of the order of the 'Star of India' in a proper manner and wear them on suitable occasions. The Nizam at first raised a slight objection pointing out that it was not in accordance with the usages and practice of Islam[24]. Indeed, Muhammedan law strictly forbids the wearing of any graven images and the Nizam was afraid lest the wearing of the cameo of Queen Victoria as an insignia should put him in a difficult and embarrassing position. And then the Governor-General's Persian translator in translating the statutes used the Persian word "towk" to mean "necklace or garland" (a part of the insignia). But "towk" literally means a collor or a slave's collor. That word suggsted to the minds of the Nizam and his nobility loss of Hyderabad's independence. So the Nizam found it difficult to accept this dubious honour the Governor-General was willing to confer upon him. But the Nizam at last gave way when he learnt that the name of the Prince consort was at the head of the Exalted Order.[25] Perhaps the Nizam was obssessed with the idea that the acceptance of the honour from the hands of the Queen of England and the wearing of the insignia would be an open declaration on the part of the Nizam that he was not an independent ruler. That this view was held by some of his subjects was shown by certain placards which stuck up in various places of Hyderabad including the Nizam's palace and two mosques where Salar Jung and Shams-ul-Umara usually said their prayers. The authors of the placards held that all these proceedings, namely, the 'Star, Effigy, Title, etc.' were entirely the result of the minister's intrigues and they threatened that if the Nizam accepted the 'Effigy and Star' all the Muhammedans would rise in revolt.[26]But it may be mentioned that no disturbance took place on the day on which the honour was conferred.

24. *Ibid.*
25. Fraser, *Memoir and Correspondence*, p. 419.
26. Translation of placards, Cf. Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 492-94.

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THE REVOLUTION BEHIND THE REVOLT

(A comparative study of the causes of the 1857 uprising)

Dr. H. R. Ghosal

On March 6, 1856, Lord Dalhousie took leave of his friends and admirers in India and boarded the 'Soona Mookee' on the Hooghly fully satisfied with his eight years' work as Governor-General. The *Friend of India* had, no doubt, said some months before that he had not been personally popular. But he challenged the statement in a private letter written on board the ship.[1] His reading of the Oudh situation after annexation is interesting : 'Here, so far as I can see, the annexation makes little more stir than the probate of a will of £ 1500 would make in Doctors' Common. As yet everything has been perfectly quiet.'[2] In a subsequent letter he wrote in his usual imperious vein : 'The great mass of the sepoys, so far as they had any feeling at all in regard to the annexation, were pleased, and had reason to be pleased with it. The Hindoo sepoys, who are as ten to one, so far as they cared at all, of course, rejoiced at the removal of a Mahometan domination over them.'[3] Events showed that he was clearly mistaken. And he admitted that in 1856 he had not foreseen 'a general mutiny of the Bengal army.' 'I had,' he observed, 'the guarantee of a hundred years' fidelity before me ; and there were no symptoms of unfaithfulness.'[4]

In spite of the calm on the surface, however, the unsuspected cataclysm came within a year of Dalhousie's departure. What really led to the flare up ? The question has been answred by different authorities, contemporary and modern. And the issue has been discussed squarely between two rival schools as to whether it was a mere mutiny of the sepoys or a national revolt. The latest and the most exhaustive analysis of the causes of the rebellion is to be found in the recently published work of Dr. S. N. Sen on the subject.[5] Having discussed the

1. Baird, *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, p. 371, Letter to a friend, 6 March 1856.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 370, 16 February 1856
3. *Ibid.*, p. 399, 5 February 1957.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 406, 24 February 1958.
5. S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, pp. 1-40.

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causes from almost all possible angles of vision, the writer has presented his thesis thus : ' The Mutiny became a revolt and assumed a political character when the mutineers of Meerut placed themselves under the King of Delhi and a section of the landed aristocracy and civil population declared in his favour. What began as a fight for religion ended as a war of independence, for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the King of Delhi was the rightful representative.'[6] It will be unnecessary to initiate a debate on the question how far the greased cartridges were responsible for the 1857 uprising. Dr. Sen rightly remarks that the forcing of the new cartridges on the sepoys was merely the proverbial last straw that broke the back of the camel. Indeed the outbreak of 1857 was not the result of this or that administrative device imposed on the Indian soldiery, or of social or other innovations, taken by itself or themselves. It was the outburst of a discontent that had been smouldering for a long time past, a natural sequel to the revolution which had occurred during the last sixty years of the Company's rule in India, and which, in spite of its profound and far-reaching character, had been but imperfectly observed by the administrators. The revolution was at once political, social and economic.

The gradual expansion of British power in India through wars, conquests, treaties and proclamations was itself a revolution of vast magnitude and created a discontent against foreign domination which became deeper and deeper as time went on. Even as early as 1757, immediately after the Company's victory over Nawab Sirajuddaulah at Plassey and the installation of Mir Jafar on the musnad of Murshidabad, some of the leading zamindars and officers of Bihar revolted against the new regime, and welcomed the opportunity presented by the arrival of Prince Ali Gauhar (afterwards Shah Alam II) on the Bihar border to offer a resistance to Mir Jafar and the English. The rebels were assisted by the French adventurer Jean Law. Clive and Mir Jafar succeeded, however, in putting down the disaffection, and shortly afterwards the English enthroned Ali Gauhar in their factory at Gulzarbag. But the new Nawab soon found his position imperilled by the abuses which were being committed by the Company's servants in the field of internal trade. He strongly protested against these, but in vain.[7] He also grew sick of the constant demands coming upon his treasury from the English Council in Calcutta. Though definite proof of the Nawab's alleged complicity in the Dutch invasion of Bengal

6. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

7. For a discussion on the private trade of the Company's servants after Plassey see K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, vol. I, pp. 301-18.

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(1759) is not available, there is no doubt that he was chafinig under the English yoke, and was probably anxious to get rid of it. But he himself was got rid of by a silent coup effected in September, 1760. His successor Mir Kasim, more spirited and intelligent than his aged father-in-law, protested vehemently against the continuing trade abuses, took drastic counteraction and finally came to war with the English Company. Although defeated in a series of engagements, he was able to obtain the support of Nawab Shujauddaulah of oudh and the Emperor Shah Alam, who seem to have been almost equally eager to drive the English as he vanquished and humiliated ex-Nawab of Bengal. But fortune favoured the foreigners at Buxar in 1764.

Clive congratulated himself in a letter to the home authorities on the success of his policy in restoring to Shujauddaulah his dominions and obtaining from the Emporor the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765. The immediate effects of the Diwani grant were, however, disastrous. Indeed tradition has it that when Warren Hastings took direct charge of the Bengal administration in 1772 in accordance with the Company's desire to ' stand forth as Diwan,' the genral masses in that province welcomed the change and heaved a sigh of relief, now that they were saved from the lack of government of the preceding seven years. The case was quite the reverse with the ruling class of India. The leading Indian powers, both Hindu and Muslim, heartily disliked English domination over this country ; and advantage was accordingly taken of the situation presented in 1778 by Hyder Ali, Nizam and the Marathas to form a combination among themselves with the avowed object of expelling the English. The move was ultimately unsuccessful. But during the decade and a half preceding the advent of Lord Willesley as Governor-General (1798), the anti-English spirit found the most redoubtable champion in Tipu Sultan, the son of Hyder Ali. Lord Cornwallis made an unjust war against Tipu in alliance with the Marathas and Nizam (1789-91) which resulted in the defeat of the Mysore ruler, and cost him nearly a half of his dominion and a huge indemnity. Naturally Tipu was driven to fraternize with the French which, in its turn, led Wellesley to declare war on him in 1799. Tipu was defeated and killed, and his kingdom was parcelled out, the Marathas and Nizam receiving portions of it. During all these years these two powers maintained an attitude of friendliness to the English Company, partly because they were both jealous of the power of Mysore, and partly also for the reason that this friendship enabled them to gobble up their neighbour's territories. In their heart of hearts, however, they were by no means well-disposed towards the British power. If in 1798 and 1818 Nizam agreed to conclude subsidiary treaties with the Company, it was because he felt his position intrinsically weak and had reasons to be alarmed by the growing power of the Marathas.

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Wellesley was determined, as he expressed it, that the Company in relation to the Indian states should 'be viewed in the capacity of a sovereign power.' A shrewd imperialist, he took advantage of the panic created by the possibility of a French invasion of India, and wrote lengthy despatches for the Court of Directors and the Secretary of State for India on the great increase of foreign influence and intrigues in India which 'menaced the foundations of your commercial and political supremacy throughout every part of Asia, and even within your own dominions.'[8] One of his devices ostensibly for counteracting the French peril, and really for expanding British dominion and influence in India, was to persuade as many of the Indian rulers as possible to enter into subsidiary alliances with the Company. Of the subsidiary treaties concluded by him, two are particularly worthy of note, those with the Nawab of Oudh (1801) and the head of the Maratha confederacy (31 December, 1802). Oudh had already been obliged by Clive and Warren Hastings to maintain a portion of the Company's troops for its own defence and pay an annual subsidy towards its expenses. The subsidy, which had been reduced to fifty lacs of rupees by Cornwallis, was again raised to seventy six lacs by his successor, Sir John Shore, in consideration of his support of the candidature of Saadat Ali in the succession dispute with Wazir Ali. There is not the slightest doubt that the exorbitant tribute exacted from the state, which had already been overburdened with debts at the time of Shujauddaulah's death (1775), was greatly responsible for its continually increasing misgovernment, of which successive nawabs were held guilty by the Company's Government. Wellesley gave an ultimatum to the nawab, demanding drastic reform of his administration, and failing to secure either reform or the nawab's abdication, compelled him to conclude a subsidiary teaty in 1801. Wellesley's Oudh policy was open to serious objection. That he was not genuinely anxious for reform goes without saying. Had he been so, he would have undertaken reforms on his own initiative, somewhat on the lines later on suggested by Lord Bentinck.[9] Indeed, the first condition precedent to administrative improvement in the dominion of the Nawab-Vizier was freeing it from the obligation of paying the annual tribute. Instead of doing that Wellesley imposed the additional burden of a subsidiary alliance on the kingdom which obliged the nawab to cede seven of his districts perpetually to the Company. In regard to Oudh, Wellesley proved as good a mercenary as Warren Hastings. The only thing that can be said in his favour is that his methods were less uncivilized. Such highhandedness, however, was bound to generate

8. Owen, *Wellesley Despatches*, pp. 701-18, Letter to Court, 30 September 1800, See also in this connection my article, "*The Charter Act of* 1793", *Calcutta Review*. November 1939, pp. 172-81.

9. Bentinck suggested that the British Government might become the guardian of the King of Oudh, 'administer his affairs through native agency and in accordance with native institutions, and pay every single rupee into the royal treasury.' *Cf.* Kaye, *Indian Mutiny*, vol. I, pp. 88-89.

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a feeling of hatred against the Company's Raj, a feeling which was strengthened by the equal highhandedness shown towards the Carnatic and Tanjore, the administration of both these territories being forcibly taken over by the Company against the wishes of their rulers. The subsidiary alliance by which Wellesley entrapped the Peshwa is another glaring example of his imperialistic bargain, and naturally led to the Second Anglo-Maratha War. And the acquisition of the Conquered Provinces from Sindhia, and of Orissa from the Raja of Nagpur, by separate treaties must have heightened Maratha discontent against the English. By 1803 almost every power in India worth counting was in fact a secret enemy of the British nation.[10]

During the forty-three years which intervened between Wellesley's departure and the assumption of the governor-generalship by Dalhousie there were considerable additions to the British Indian empire, mainly through conquest. Into the details of these acquisitions it is needless to go. But some of the more important happennings of this period well deserve our notice—the final debacle of the Marathas and usurpation of the Peshwa's territories by the Company under Lord Hastings; the expeditions against Afganistan under Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough; the conquest of Sind in 1843; and the annexation of half the Punjab in 1846. The Marathas were practically rendered impotent for harm, and their dramatic exit from the political arena produced no serious repercussion, mainly because the other Maratha chiefs were left in possession of their states. But the Afghan wars almost certainly annoyed the Indian Muhammadans,[11] while Napier's Sind conquest on the unfounded plea that the Amirs had shown a hostility to the British during the Afghan expedition was deeply resented. So also was Lord Hardinge's Punjab pruning. The accumulated political grievances of the ruling community against the British Raj were mightily strengthened by Dalhousie's ruthless annexations of Sambalpur, Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur, Tanjore and the Carnatic on the ground of failure of natural heirs, and of the rest of the Punjab and Oudh on the grounds respectively of conquest and misgovernment. The Oudh annexation was the most unfortunate of all, a flagrant abrogation of a solemn treaty.' 'To the comprehension of the multitude,' says Kaye, " it appeared that the good of the people, which we had vaunted whilst serving ourselves was nothing more than a pretext and a sham; and that we had simply extinguished one of the few remaining Muhammadan

10. In 1940, while going through the records of the Bengal Secretariate in Calcutta, I came across an interesting series of corrspondence on the subject. One particular letter deplored the fact that British policy so far followed towards the Indian rulers had been so highhanded that there was every danger that in the event of a Napoleonic invasion of India, the rulers might secretly aid the enemy. The letter is dated 1803. As it was not strictly relevant to my purpose, I was not allowed to copy it out.

11. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

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states of India that we might add so many thousands of square miles to our British territories, and so many millions of rupees to the revenues of the British Empire in the East. And who, it was asked, could be safe, if we thus treated one who had ever been the most faithful of our allies ?'[12]

The social revolution in India under the Company started later than the political. It proceeded principally along three lines—the activities of the Christian missionaries, the spread of English education, and the emancipation of women. The missionaries had come to India centuries before, and by the beginning of the last century their number was pretty considerable. After the enactment of the Charter Act of 1813 the number swelled enormously. 'The missionary was to be seen everywhere—in the schools, in the hospitals, in the prisons, and at the market place.'[13] The disparaging denunciation of Hindu and Muslim religions by the Lord's chosen representatives outraged Indian sentiment; and the encouragement given to them to preach in schools and prisons, sometimes attended by the police, led people to suspect, as Sir Saiyyid Ahmad Khan has noted, 'that Government appointed missionaries and maintained them at its own cost.'[14] And indeed the Bible was taught not only in the institutions run by them but sometimes also in Government schools. A circular letter issued by Mr. Edmund from Calcutta in 1855 went to the extent of suggesting that time was ripe for the entire population of India to choose between professing the Christian faith and eternal damnation.[15] The spread of English education going side by side with evangelization deepened popular suspicion that the foreign Government was out to make Christians of Indians graudually. The impolitic obligation imposed by the authorities on the Indian soldiery from time to time of going to foreign lands for fighting served only to strengthen the conviction among them and their relatives. It can well be imagined what reaction it would have on a people. who were used to considering going abroad as preparing for a journey straight to hell. And we have the instance of poor Sitaram who, when he returned from Afghanistan, was outcasted by his fellow men and failed to win back their favour until his father had spent heavily for his penance.[16]

Hindu society abhorred the idea of sending grown-up girls to schools under a superstitious belief that they would soon have the curse of widowhood on them. Many Muslims shared the superstition. Though enlightened Indians were shaking off this pernicious prejudice,

12. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
13. S. N. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, p. 5, f.n.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

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the vast bulk of the people were entirely in the dark. To them it appeared that Government and the missionaries were encouraging feminine education only to entrap them in the meshes of Christianity. Much more objectionable in their eyes was the abolition of sati by the Company's Government in 1829. The Dharma Sabha in Calcutta at the instance of Raja Radhakanta Dev, a deeply learned and cultured Bengali, sent a petition to the king in Parliament for revoking the measure. Rammohan Roy got a counterpetition signed by the advocates of the reform and sent it to England. But those who thought in Rammohan's lines constituted only a handful of the population. To the vast majority it was the most sinister measure which could be conceived. Twenty-seven years later, when Government legalized widow remarriage in Hindu society, the orthodox party thought that the culmination of the Kali Age (Dark Age) had been reached. Attempts were made on the life of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the strongest champion of Hindu widows' remarriage in Bengal. The part played by the Dharma Sabha in inciting the Hindu sepoys of Barrackpore is worth investigation in this connection. Kaye has just made a reference to the subject. ' There was ,' he says, ' the great Brahmanical institution, the Dharma Sabha of Calcutta, whose special function it was to preserve Hinduism pure and simple in all its ancestral integrity, and therefore to resist the invasions and encroachments of the English, by which it was continually threatened. There were bygone injuries to revenge, and there were coming dangers to repel.'[17] On January 28, 1857, John Hearsey, an English Officer, reported to the Adjutant General's office that a rumour had been spread by some designing persons, most likely Brahmans, or agents of the religious Hindu party in Calcutta (I believe it is called the "Dharma Sabha") that the Siphahis are to be forced to embrace the Christian faith.'[18] It is quite likely that the agents of that powerful organization were secretly at work among the sepoys with a view to instigate a military rising against the English, though direct evidence of their connection with the movement is not available.

While Hindus in general were deeply wounded by the social measures of Government, carried out with the best of intentions,and both they and the followers of Islam detested the spread of English learning, the latter had an additional cause of offence against the authorities, a fact, the importance of which has not so far been stressed. That was the substitution of English and Indian vernaculars for Persian in the revenue and judicial proceedings of Government. A circular issued by the Sadar Board of Revenue, Calcutta, in May 1837, stated that ' the proper time has arrived for taking effectual measures to substitute, as far as may be unobjectionably practicable, the English and Vernacular

17. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 363.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 364.

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language for the Persian in the business of the Revenue Department.'[19] The change was introduced both in the revenue and judicial departments within the next one year,[20] although for practical purposes English took time to replace Persian. Apart from the economic hardship of the measure, which fell mostly on Muslims, it was resented also on sentimental grounds as involving the ousting of a tongue from its official position which it had enjoyed for several centuries.

The discontent due to social innovations was certainly more widespread, though less deep-seated perhaps, than that caused by the absorption of great principalities and extinction of ancient sovereignties. The combined effect of both was sufficient to precipitate a serious crisis. It may be doubted, however, if the economic causes of the conflagration were not more powerful than the social and political. Truly speaking, the economic transformation which took place in India during the last sixty years of the Company's administration brought more misery on the country and its people than the political. And it affected nearly all sections of the population to a greater or less degree.

First of all, with regard to the land settlements. Although commercial consideration was the uppermost in the minds of the Company's directors and most of their administrators in India, and British merchants and adventures regarded India as a fat milch cow, it must be admitted that some of the British officers were sincerely solicitous of the well-being of the Indian people. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Thomas Munro, Tucker, Bird and Thomason, among others, were genuinely inspired by a desire for the good of the governed. Yet much of the settlement proceedings and many of the land revenue tended to the severe oppression and annoyance of considerable sections of the people. Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement itself failed to commend itself to the class for whose benefit it was introduced. The sunset law, which accompanied the institution of the Permanent Settlement, by substituting the system of auctioning away zamindaris and mahals in place of the timehonoured practice of distraining the zemindars for non-payment or heavy arrears of revenue, at once led to the ruin of a large number of zemindars and their estates in Bengal. The fact was pointed out by Rickards in one of his speeches before the Commons in 1813.[21] Indeed the bulk of the issues of the *Calcutta Gazette* and its supplements from the year 1794 are full of advertizements for the sale of mahals belonging to ancient families of zemindars in Bengal.[22] As an instance

19. From Commissioner of Bhagalpur to Collector of Tirhut, 30 May 1837—Muzaffarpur Collectorate (unpublished) Records.

20. Misc. Deptt. Circular from Sadar Board of Revenue to Commissioner of Bhagalpur, 6 February 1838—Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records.

21. H. R. Ghoshal, *Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency*, p. 34, fn.

22. *Ibid.*

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we may cite the case of the Pathan raj of Birbhum, one of the biggest zemindaris, which went into liquidation within a short time of the introduction of the Permanent Settlement. Another great defect of the Permanent Settlement was that some estates were assessed too heavily and others too lightly. Besides, the Permanent Settlement was not at all welcome to many of the landholders and farmers of revenue. As late as 1833, and even afterwards, the zemindar of Tirhut proved extremely recusant in coming to terms with the settlement officers, resisting their operations 'in a litigious spirit.'[23] In such cases, Government temporarily took up the management of unsettled mahals and held them khas.[24] But khas management itself was a source of oppression. The Commissioner of Saran wrote to the Collector of Tirhut on December 18, 1833, about 'the continued injustice sustained by the landholders by the present extensive system of khas management or temporary engagements with malik or farmers.'[25]

Bengal and Bihar were not the only victims of a new revenue law. In the provinces where ryotwari settlements were carried out, in the greater part of the Madras Presidency, Bombay and the Ceded and conquered provinces (later called the North-Western Provinces), equal or greater hardship was suffered by the landholding middle classes, who were not exactly in the position of zemindars but nevertheless acted as intermediary agents between the rent-payers and government. Settlement operations in the south in the opening years of the nineteenth century deprived 'many of the chief people of their official rank and official emoluments, and cast them adrift upon the world.' The discontent caused by this predicament was one of the contributory factors leading to the Vellore mutiny of 1806[27]. When the Company obtained from the Nawab-Vizier the ceded territories (1801) and from Sindhia the conquered provinces (1803), all sorts of proprietors presented themselves. Striving after justice, the settlement officers completely did away with the claims of the revenue-farmers, mostly talukdars, and brought the village occupants into direct relations with Government. The talukdar was for the most part regarded as 'a fraudulent upstart and an unscrupulous oppressor'; and to oust him was held to be 'as great an achievement as to shoot a tiger.'[28] Mr. Robertson, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces remarked in his despatch to the Court of Directors of August 13, 1851, that in

23. From Secretary, Sadar Board to Commissioner of Bhagalpur, 21 November 1834—Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records.

24. From Commissioner of Patna to Collector of Chapra, 10 April 1834—Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records.

25. Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records.

26. Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

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Farrukhabad 'the obligations of a treaty and the direct orders of Government were but lightly dealt with ; and in all a total disregard was evinced for acts of even such men as Warren Hastings and Lord Lake.'[29] The settlement instituted in the newly annexed dominion of Oudh in 1856 struck down the privileged classes in the same wreckless way.

More iniquitous than all this was the Company's resumption procedure begun from 1819 for examining into the validity of rent-free tenures, such as jagirs, *madad-mashes*, *brahmottars*,[30] *devottars*,[31] etc. Numerous such tenures existed in almost each district of the Bengal Presidency, most of them dating from Mughal times. To swell the Government revenue the resumption officers called upon the holders of all such grants to present them for inspection. Those who failed on account of their farmans having been lost or destroyed were forthwith deprived of the privilege they had been enjoying. And a great many of the documents submitted were declared forged. At the same time jagirs were resumed and assessed on the death of the jagirdars. In many cases there were injustices owing to the resumption officers' ignorace or misapplication of the regulations.[32] It is not possible to estimate how many thousand respectable persons had actually to submit to the inevitability of confiscation in this way, how many old families were redued to indigence by the harsh doings of the over-zealous revenue officers. The oppression attendant upon the proceedings did not always escape the notice of Government. In a letter to the Sadar Board of Revenue, Calcutta, dated May 2, 1837, the Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department wrote : 'His Lordship is very anxious that no unnecessary alarm should be given to landholders, by the institution of suits on insufficient grounds to establish the liability to assessment of lands attached to permanently settled mahals.....'[33] The resumption proceedings were however carried out in the most drastic manner, and in spite of Government's notes of warning, and the warnings of some of their officers, in the North-Western Provinces as well as in Bengal, Bihar and Banaras. In a like manner the Inam Commission, established in the Bombay Presidency in 1852, went, according to Seton Karr, into the titles of no fewer than thirty-five thousand estates, great and small, during the first five years of its operations, three-fifths of which were confiscated.[34] That resumption was a great deal responsible for the 1857 flare-up is clear enough. As early as 1829 a big crowd made a demonstration before the Court of the Resumption Officer of Patna under

29. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

30. Grants for the maintenance of Brahmans.

31. Grants for the maintenance of deities.

32. From Secretary, Sadar Board, to Commissioner of Bhagalpur, 30 May 1837 ; from same to same, 4 December 1838—Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records.

33. Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records.

34. Kaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-29.

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Mir Abdullah and Rahat Ali as a protest against the severity of the resumption laws.[35] Then, during the anti-British plot of 1845-46, the Magistrate of Patna, discovered a bundle of papers in one of the wells which contained a petition 'praying for the removal of all the functionaries at Patna and stating that the country would never recover from the effects of Resumption Laws.'[36]

Ever since the acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal, a systematic oppression had been practised by the Company's dalals and servants connected with the supply of their investment. The oppression continued, in spite of occasional attempts to check it, until the winding out of the Company's cloth factories after 1817. Often it was of a severe kind and drove many weavers to voluntary exile or compelled them to give up their profession altogether.[37] Beating and flogging the weavers in the factories were by no means uncommon.[38] The oppression as such was not confined to the Bengal Presidency. A graphic account has been given by Richards of similar mal-treatment of weavers under the Surat factory in the Bombay Presidency. The oppression and exploitation of the opium-growers in the Company's opium factories in Bihar also became notorious. But nothing like the treatment meted out to the ryots by the European indigo planters. Buchanan, writing about 1810, has noted that the zemindars as a class were dead against indigo.[39] And a collector in East Bengal remarked later that there was not a single instance of an Indian zemindar starting indigo manufacture who had not in the end been ruined by his selfish European neighbours.[40] Indeed the whole system of indigo cultivation was vicious in theory, and such a system, as the Indigo Commission observed in 1860, could be worked 'only by oppression and ill-usage.' As the Company's Government countenanced such oppression, people had reasons to feel great resentment against them on this score.

It is not within the purview of this paper to discuss the causes of the collapse of the cotton industry which came about in the early decades of the last century. But it may be noted that the root cause of the calamity was the Industrial Revolution in England. The Charter Act of 1813, which abolished the Company's trading monopoly, and the cessation of the Napoleonic War (1814-15), as well as the drastic reduction of import duties on British cloths, enabled England to flood the Indian market with her machine-made fabrics, while in foreign markets she

35. K. K. Datta, *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*, p. 63.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
37. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-25 and 29-30.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
39. *Purnea Report*, p. 393.
40. *Minutes of Evidence before Select Committee on Affairs of E.I.C.* (1832), vol. I, p. 219.

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was able to oust Indian piece-goods almost completely during the next one decade and a half.[41] The tragedy produced by this catastrophe beggars description. About fifty lacs of women lost their employment as spinners, and vast numbers of weaver and other classes of persons connected with the industry were entirely thrown overboard. In 1832 Lord Bentinck painfully observed: 'Cotton piece-goods, for so many ages the staple manufacture of India, seem thus for ever lost. The sympathy of the Court is deeply excited by the report of the Board of Trade exhibiting the gloomy picture of the effects of a commercial revolution productive of so much present suffering to numerous classes in India and hardly to be parallelled in the history of commerce'[42] Within the next quarter century some of the other indigenous industries, such as the manufacture of mixed fabrics of cotton and silk, indigenous jute manufacture, the ship-building industry and indigenous mining suffered much the same fate. At the same time the large influx of British private traders created a competition in many other branches of trade as a result of which Indian ware gradually ousted from their position. The dissatisfaction produced by all this was vented in contemporary newspapers. Thus in 1836 a Bengali newspaper remarked that owing to the advent of European architects, cabinet-makers, jewellers, and tailors, indigenous workmen were reduced to such a state of misery that they became 'as thin as needle.'[43]

Such was the position when Lord Dalhousie's Government issued peremptory orders stopping the pensions of some descendants of ruling families. Among them was Nana-Sahib, the adopted son of the ex-Peshwa. It may be doubted if he would have jumped into the movement, if he had not faced this economic crisis. He suddenly found himself stranded by the Company's orders of 1853, and had no otherway than to take up arms against the Raj that had deprived him of his legitimate due. Four years he waited sullenly; and when the chance came, he was quick to embrace it. A similar economic predicament drove Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur to side with the rebels He had a long-standing grievance against the Company's economic policy. Dr. K. K. Datta points out that once when his father's estate was going to be resumed, Kunwar appeared at the head of a band of armed men before the court.[44] And when he was finally left in the lurch by Government's withdrawal of protection, he was desperately driven to join the insurgents.[45] Nor would the movement have received the support of the talukdars and zemindars, had not the Company's harsh economic measures almost bled

41. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-45.
42. *Gen. App. to Report from Select Committee* (1832), p. 275.
43. B. N. Banerji, *Sambad Patre Sekalker Katha*, vol. III, pp. 74-75.
44. K. K. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
45. K. K. Datta's *Biography of Kunwar Singh* contains an admirable account of his activities in connection with the movement of 1857-58.

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them white. Mainly for the same reason, the common folk, the santals, Kols and other aboriginals of Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas sided with the rebels, though not quite actively.[46] Then, the sepoys themselves had a host of economic grievances against Government which have been discussed by Dr. Sen.[47] That the economic factor was more important than the social or political may also appear clear from the text of the proclamation issued in the name of the Hindus and Muslims of Delhi to the people of India in 1857 which throughout stresses the economic misery brought about by Government's policy, and in the end mentions about the attempt 'to subvert every one's religion.'[48] It may well be concluded that the rising would have remained localized, if there had not been so deep-seated an economic descontent, such wide-spread impoverishment brought about directly or indirectly by British policy, such iniquities in the emoluments and privileges of the soldiery, as we have noticed above.

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46. See in this connection P. C. Roy Choudhury, *1857 in Bihar (Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas)*. See also *Report of Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee* (1956-57).

47. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

THE CAUSES OF THE VELLORE MUTINY

DR. K. K. PLLIAY

Certain writers like Savarkar and Haripada Chundhary,[1] who hold that the revolt of 1857 was a national rising, think that the Vellore Mutiny of 1806 was practically a rehearsal of the later outburst. According to them the desire for liberty and the determination to overthrow the alien domination formed the basic cause of both the risings. On the other hand, many of the contemporary British generals and officials considered the Vellore Mutiny as little more than a military revolt, caused by the indiscreet dress regulations of the authorities. Some of the officials, however, realised that the root cause of the rising was the deep game of intrigue played by the descendants of Tippu, then stationed within the Vellore Fort. All the available pieces of evidence have to be examined in order to assess the intrinsic nature of the rising. It need hardly be added that it is unhistoric to read later ideas and aspirations into the earlier events, without taking note of the tendencies and environment of the period when the revolt occured.

It is undeniable that the innovations in respect of the head-dress, caste marks and other allied matters created a stir among the Sepoys. On 14th November 1805, an order was issued by the Commander-in-Chief to the effect that a new pattern of turban had been determined upon for the Indian infantry and artillery. About the same time there occurred also the introduction of stocks, leather cockades and plumes. Early in 1806 there appeared a reiteration of the old regulation that no soldier should mark his face to denote his caste, or wear earring when dressed in his uniform. It was further laid down that at all parades, and during all military duties, every soldier of the battalion should have his chin clean-shaven. It was also directed that uniformity should as far as practicable be preserved in regard to the quantity and shape of hair on the upper lip.[2]

Unquestionably the changes were introduced with the best of motives. Smartness in appearance on the part of the soldiers was all

1. V. D. Savarkar, *The War of Indian Independence*, p. 211 *Mordern Review*. 1957, October.

2. Extract from the Code of Military Regulations dated 15 July 1806, vol. XIX, 1806

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that was intended to be achieved. But the new rules did create annoyance and misgivings among the soldiers. The question at issue is how far this dislike of the regulations led to the Mutiny. Sir J. F. Craddock, the Commander-in-Chief, Mr. P. A. Agnew, the Adjutant General and Major Pierce, the Deputy Adjutant General of the Madras Army were all of the view that though the purpose of these innovations was misunderstood, the changes were not opposed by the bulk of the soldiers. Consequently they held that these regulations constituted little more than the pretext for the rising. In particular, they stated that when an inspection was conducted earlier by the Deputy Adjtuant General in the presence of the Adjutant General and three sepoys—a Muslim, a Rajput and a Gentoo (Hindu) were selected to wear them. So far from expressing the smallest dislike or objection to the turbans, they declared themselves pleased with them.[3] These military experts justified the order regarding caste marks and ear-rings on the ground that although they had not previously been prohibited by any formal order, it had never been the custom in any well regulated corps for soldiers to appear with them on parade. Letters from general Dugald Campbell, Lietenant-Colonel Chamers and others connected with the Madras Army were quoted in support of their standpoint.[4] But it has been rightly contended that the Commander-in-chief, the Adjutant General and Duputy Adjutant General were the officers responsible for the introduction of the changes and that they were naturally inclined to underrate the evil consequences of their reforms. It is idle to deny the disaffection caused by the innovations. In fact many members of the 2nd battalion, 4th regiment, expressed their resentment and positvely refused to wear the turbans. This led to the trial of the ring-leaders who objected to the turban and after a formal trial held at Madras, 21 sepoys were subjected to corporal punishment and some were dismissed from military service. It is likely that the severity of the punishements had a deterrent influence. Nor was William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, unaware of the situation. Later, in his letter to the Governor-General in Council, Bentinck admitted his knowledge of the fact that certain persons spread alarm on the ground that these changes were preparatory to the conversion of the soldiers to Christianity.[5] But he was persuaded to think that the dissatisfaction was not general.[6]

3. *Ibid.*, p. Secret Consultations 1163, Letter, dated 25th July, 1806 from Fred Pierce, Adjutant General, to the Commader-in-Chief, and p. 933, Minute of Mr. Petrie, dated 17 July 1806.

4. Lt. Col. W. J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army* (1883), vol. III, p. 198. See p. 174 and n. for the evidence collected by a court of enquiry to the effect that no objection to the regulations was expressed.

5. Secret Consultations, Vol, XIX, p. 896. Letter from Lord Bentinck to the Governor- General-in-Council, dated 15th July 1806.

6. Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 174-5.

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Apart from the official version, there is available the evidence from other quarters which are, on matters of this kind, more trustworthy. The evidence given before the Committee appointed to inquire into the Vellore Mutiny show that a certain measure of disaffection had appeared on account of the enforcement of the new regulations. Clari Dareesora, the Āyāh to Mrs. Pritchard, stated that the sepoys told her that they had been ordered to cut their whiskers and wear topee which they refused to do. Further, Subedhar Sheikh Adam and Subedar Sheikh Hussain told Havildar Fakir of the Light Infantry that ' they were ordered to wear topees, which they were determined not to do, and were resolved to mutiny and told him to be ready.'[7]

Thus it is certain that a commotion had arisen over the regulation and that there appeared a disaffection on the part of the sepoys. But the important question which has to be examined is whether this dissatisfaction by itself was responsible for the Mutiny. It is significant that similar regulations regarding dress and other details were introduced about the same time at Hyderabad, Bellary, Wallajabad, Bangalore and Nundidrug. But except perhaps at Hyderabad the change did not create any serious excitement.[8] In fact, it is extremely doubtful whether these regulations alone served as the cause of the Vellore Mutiny. But the disaffection of the soldiers was exploited by interested parties who had a deeper purpose. It is clear that the presence of Tippu's sons and a host of his other relatives, besides a large retinue within the Vellore Fort, was the fundamental factor which gave a shape to the rebellion.[9] The Commission of Enquiry rightly assessed the relative importance of the causes of the Revolt when they obseved : ' The casual disaffection among the troops appears to have furnished to the Princes the idea of turning that circumstance to their own advantage.'[10]

Lt. Col. R. Huddlestone who was in charge of the Arcot Cantonment at the time, writing on 11th July 1806 to Col. Harcourt, the Officer Commanding at Wallajabad,stated categorically that the disturbances in Vellore were known to have been caused by the Princes.[11]

7. *Ibid.*, p. 956.

8. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-6. At Hyderabad by a timely suspension of the regulations, trouble was averted.

9. Fred Pierce states, ' The resistance shown to wearing the Turban must be imputed to some other cause than its having been an encroachment upon the customs and prejudices of the Natives.' *Ibid.* p. 1166. Letter dated 27th July.

10. *Secret Consultations Year 1806.* Serial No. 20, p. 1499, dated 15th August, 1806.

11. *Idem* Serial No. 19, p. 811. See also Col. Gellispies observation that the princes of Tippu were responsible for the rising. *Ibid.*, p. 834.

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Further it is known that Mozeeuddin, the third son of Tippu had actually sent his own flag to the insurgents and that it was hoisted for several hours on the flag-staff. Col. Harcourt attributed the trouble primarily to Prince Mozeeuddin.[12]

Mozeeuddin appears to have organized a deeply laid plot in collaboration with all those interested in his family. The plan was to attack and crush the English Officers and then to effect his escape to Mysore where he expected to be supported by a large host of followers. He aimed at turning to good purpose the loyalty of the Mussalmans to the old line of Haidar and Tippu. The evidence furnished by a number of respectable eye witnesses, collected by Lt. Col. Forbes shows that ' every Mussalman in Vellore and its vicinity had been concerned in the late horrible massacre and that the entire scheme was carried on at the instigation of Mozeeuddin.'[13] He adds that Mozeeuddin had actually exchanged betels with most of the native officers belonging to the garrison, ensuring their hearty co-operation with his cause.[14] Col. Gillispie, in his letter dated 14th July 1806 to the Government of Fort St. George, wrote that ' it is also proved by evidence that a man named Shaikh Zaffar of the Granadiers was heard calling to one of the Princes, " Come out, come out, sir, we have three hundred men ready for you."[15] He provides the additional information that on the day of the revolt a richly dressed person was found to have been engaged in conversation with sepoys on the top of the palace and that soon afterwards, a party of sepoys accompanied by many of the attendants of the Princes, sallied from the palace and killed all the staff sergents of the garrison. It was learnt further that the princes' servants were the people most busily employed in plundering property during the catastrophe. Besides, Charlotte Walters, the wife of the Laboratory Sergeant, testified to the fact of the Princes' attendants having played a vigorous part in the massacre on the fatefull day.[16] Further, Mr. Dean, Asst. Surgeon, 2nd Battalion, 23rd Regiment, has stated that he observed three Europeans dressed in their uniform brought as prisoners towards the Princes' palace and put to death opposite the palace gates, as he imagined, to gratify the sight of those in the palace.[17]

12. " It appears to be already sufficiently proved from circumstances that have come to light this morning that at least one of the Princes (Mozecuddin) was the instigator of the whole business." Letter of Col. Harcourt from Arcot dated 12th July 1806 to the Governor's chief Secretary—*Ibid.*, p. 856.

13. R. R. Gillispie, *Ibid.*, p. 857.

14. *Secret Consultations, 1806*, vol. No. XX, p. 1371.

15. *Secret Consultations* vol. XIX (1806), p. 872. ' Alla Dean, a foster brother of Mozee-ud-deen was the medium of intercourse between the place and the Sepoys.' He frequently attended the meetings and Consultatations that were held at the house of the subedar Sheik Adam—and brought them news and advices from the Palace.' *Secret Consulations*, 1806, vol. XX, p. 1366.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 863. Evidence collected by the court of Enquiry,

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 1047-8, Proceedings of 19 July 1806.

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There is no doubt, therefore, that the fundamental cause of the Mutiny lay in the deep game played by the relatives of Tippu within the Vellore fort.[18] The restoration of the old royal line was the impelling motive of the rebels. The incredible facilities which the Princes and their retinue enjoyed in Vellore provided the temptation for organizing the conspiracy. While the fortress of Vellore was the residence of the sons and daughters of Tippu, the whole neighbourhood swarmed with the dependants of the deposed family. It appears that, over 3,000 Mysoreans had settled in Vellore and its vicinity subsequent to its having become the abode of the Princes and that the number of their servants and adherants in the fort amounted to about 1,800.[19] The extravagant revenue granted to Tippu's family enabled the Princes to purchase the services of a host of retainers. Futteh Hyder, the second son of Tippu was by temperament the most inclined to lament and brood over the fall of his father and the loss of their kingdom. Therefore, Futteh Hyder, in conjuction with his brother Mozeeudin and many native officers and sepoys in the garrison to hatch a plot aiming at the overthrow of the British authority.[20]

It is pertinent, in this connection, to ask whether the Hindu soldiers in the army at Vellore co-operated with the mutineers. The greater part of the 23rd Regiment was composed of Hindus, who are believed to have kept themselves aloof from the conspiracy. On this question, however, there is conflicting evidence.[21] The probability is that some co-operated with the rebels, partly on account of the hatred of the new regulations and partly induced by hopes of personal gains. It is important to observe in this connection that Regiment No. 23 in the Vellore Fort had been recruited just some time prior to the Mutiny in the Tirunelveli District and that it contained in its ranks a number of followers of the Poligar chiefs whose possessions had been forfeited in 1801 for rebellion.[22]

Apart from this, the Poligars in the North Arcot region were themselves fomenting trouble. There were ten Poligars in North Arcot paying tribute to Government. Accustomed to a life of lawlessness and independence, frequently they caused riots. The Poligars of Pullur and Yedaragunta proved to be the most troublesome chieftains of the period. It is likely that the disaffected Poligars and their retainers

18. See the considered opinion of the Committee of Enquiries, Wilson., *op. cit*, p. 192.

19. Firnell, *The Mutiny of Vellore*, p. 17.

20. Charles F. Kirly, *The Adventures of an Arcot Rupee*, vol. III, p. 247.

21. Cf. A. F. Cox, *North Arcot District Mauual*, p. 109, and Kirly, *loc. cit.*, who think that the Hindus did not join hands with the rebels. Contra *North Arcot District Manual*, App. III, p. 289.

22. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

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intrigued with the followers of the princes inside and co-operated with them in the conspiracy. It is important to observe that the outbreak would have become very formidable, but for the circumstance that it occurred prematurely, before the plans were completely laid. The combination of adherents of the family of Hyder and others from Mysore with the neighbouring disaffected Poligars had not been matured, and the plan of the Mutiny was thus destroyed.[23] Mustapha Beg, a sepoy of the 1st Regiment secretly informed his commanding officer, Col. Forbes, that a plot had been planned for the extermination of the European officers and troops. Though the British generals failed to take advantage of the warning, Mustapha Beg's treachery seems to have roused the fear of his co-religionists and to have led them to hasten the execution of their schemes.

However, even the part played by the disaffected Poligars in fomenting the trouble does not warrant the characterisation of the revolt as a national or patriotic rising. The discontented Poligars were interested not in liberty for its own sake but in freedom for themselves to plunder the people. The expulsion of the British was desired by them not out of patriotic fervour but out of the eagerness to remove the only power which proved an obstacle to their lawlessness.

Thus an examination of the causes which brought about the Vellore rising tends to indicate that the principal motive power behind the Mutiny was the political ambition of the members of Tippu's family. The intrigues of the disaffected Poligars strengthened it while the dress regulations provided the pretext for it.

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23. Cox, *North Arcot District Manual*, p. 108.

PAIK REBELLION

(*Summary*)

Mrs. Usha Roy

The Rebellion of 1817 of Khurda, popularly known as Paik Rebellion, was a direct challenge to the British administrative setup of the country. It will not be incorrect to call the rebellion a 'Peasants' Revolt,' as the Paiks who were the heroes of the struggle were none but the peasants of the land.

The Raja of Khurda was unjustly deprived of his kingdom. The British Government brought the charge that he was giving shelter to the enemies of the Government namely to the Marathas. But the truth was that the Raja had made a secret treaty with the British Governmet with the object of helping them in time of their conquest of the province. The Government in lieu of the help was to pay to the Raja a sum of rupees one lakh. The Government paid only half of the sum to the Raja. When the Raja began to press his demand, the Government took to a different plea and finally drove out the Raja from his land and captured Khurda.

The most important cause of the rebellion was the oppressive revenue system. The East India Company resumed the Jageer of different officers of the Raja of Khurda. During British administration there was heavy assessment of land, the consequence of which was that many rayats deserted their land.

The year 1816 brought additional miseries to the people of Khurda. The assessments of land were increased arbitrarily. The major portion of the land in Khurda was farmed out on a yearly payment of revenue. Some of these farmers were from outside the province, their object was merely to collect as much as they could during the period. The collector was completely aware of this oppression and intimated the same to the Government, which in its turn did practically nothing to improve the condition of the people.

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Apart from the oppressive and unimaginative revenue policy of Government, other causes equally contributed to this rising. Oppression by the Police Darogahs was also a substantial cause for the peoples' disgust and annoyance. Shameful abuses and extortions were practised in Khurda by the Tahasildars, Darogahs and Moonshifs. These people used to seize the bazars and markets and forcibly took away pots, milk and eggs though such actions were strictly prohibited by Government. All these go to show that early British administration was not better than Maratha misrule.

It is true that judges of circuit occasionally visited the district, but they were all confined to the office throughout the day. Moreover these magistrates and judges were always surrounded by Amalhs, as similar Government officials who were not completely free from these guilts. One of the greatest shortcomings of British bureaucracy in Orissa was that there was absolutely no contact between big Government officers and native landlord class.

The other cause of dissatisfaction of the people of the province was that people living outside the province were given jobs. The other important cause of the uprising was that people suffered a great deal for lack of salt.

Another cause of the dissatisfaction of the people was cowree system. Sicca rupees were received in payment of revenue and that more than 2/3 of the rupees collected were annually carried out of the district. As a consequence, silver was scarce and it was only to be purchased at an advance of from 70 to 80 per cent of the value originally fixed to the cowree currency by the Government.

The immediate cause of the Rebellion was Buxi Jagabandhu and his personal grievances against the Government. Buxi Jagabandhu, who was formerly commander of the military of the Raja of Khurda, was unjustly and most fraudulently deprived of his landed property named Killat Rorung. He was reduced to poverty and took advantage, on the one hand of the weakness of the British administration, on the other, of the dissatisfaction of the people.

In March 1817 the Buxi was joined by four hundred Khurds (aboriginals) and they attacked the Government buildings in Khurdha. On the 13th April, 1817, the rebel army fought against a handful of British soldiers stationed at Puri. For five days Puri was under the rebels. Jagabandhu wanted to restore the Raja to his kingdom. But the whole revolt was crushed and the Raja of Khurdha was arrested at Puri. Severe punishment was given to the rebel leaders. Buxi indeed was given pardon.

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As a result of the rebellion Mr. Ker was appointed commissioner and his administration proved beneficial. Most of the old Amlahs and Darogahs were removed. The police was remoulded. Mr. Melville and Mr. Forester were appointed at Khurdha and Puri respectively. They were vested with both executive and judicial powers. Mr. Ker's revenue administration brought a new era in the British administration. In the Regulation of 1818 relief was given to the native landlords. The salt laws were relaxed.

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THE COMPANY'S ARMY OFFICERS AND HINDUSTANI

(*Summary*)

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI

The question as to whether the army personnel of the Company should receive instruction in Hindustani before their departure from England for India, was the subject of a forgotten debate in the Court of Proprietors in 1826. A detailed account thereof is available in the official papers. It is needless to say that this matter would interest the students of Indian History at the present day.

At a meeting of the Court of Proprietors, held on January 18, 1826, the following proposition was introduced by Mr. Hume: 'That this Court considering the great importance of a knowledge of the Hindosthanee language to European officers, destined to act with, and command the Native troops in India, recommend to the Court of Directors, to take into consideration the propriety of making regulations, in consistency with their own resolutions, that no cadet shall henceforth be permitted to proceed to India, unless he shall, upon examination, be found sufficiently grounded in the rudiments of the Hindostanee language.'

In spite of the cogency of Mr. Hume's pleading, the majority of the Court of Proprietors voted against the motion from a mistaken belief that the teaching of Hindustani would be a costly affair and that the Company could not incur the due expenditure.

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LIFE IN DELHI IN 1827

(*Summary*)

SHRI KRISHAN LAL SACHDEVA

Persian and Urdu newspapers of the nineteenth century are a valuable source of information for the study of the Indian History. Jam-i-Jaham Numa was a Persian weekly issued from the Mission Press Calcutta. On the basis of the issues of this paper for the year 1827, a picture of the Political, Social, Economic and Religious life in Delhi has been portrayed in this paper.

Delhi was the headquarters of an important Residency. Sir Charles Metcalfe was the Resident. Sir Edward Coolebrooke succeeded him as Resident when Metcalfe was appointed a member of the Council in Calcutta. Lord Amherst visited Delhi in the month of February and met Akbar Shah II on an equal footing. Begum Sumroo often paid her respects to the king. People refused to accept Lucknow currency. Hundees were in vogue in those days. One could reach Calcutta by rivers and by land. Dr. Ludlow was a European doctor in Delhi. Cholera caused the death of many persons in this year. Hails destroyed crops in the king's pergunnah of Kote Kasim. Mangoes and apples were the most popular fruit of the day. Hyat Buksh, Mubarak Bagh and Mehtab Bagh were the important gardens of those days. Dances and feasts were the common sources of social entertainments. Mimicry fireworks, Seir-i-Gul Firoshian and arrow shooters were the other items for public recreation. The relations between the Hindus and Muslims were very cordial. Holi, Dussehra and Diwali were celebrated with great pomp and show. Shab-Barat, Ramzan, Id-ul-Fitr and Id-ul-Zuh were the popular Muslim festivals.

Akbar Shah II gave regular financial aid to the Dargahs of Ajmere and Qutab Sahib. He honoured the teachers who taught Quran to the princes. The British officers paid nazars to the king. He conferred khilluts and titles on Indian Chiefs. The Anglo-Mughal tussle continued even during this period. At the age of 71, the king married Anwar Mahal Begum. Begum Mumtaz Mahal was the chief Begum of the king. Mirza Babar and Mirza Salim were the favourite sons of the king.

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DUNGARPUR SUCCESSION, 1846

(*Summary*)

DR. HIRA LAL GUPTA

The question of succeesion in the state of Dungarpur in 1846 raised problems which were altogether new in nature. In the name of its exiled ruler, Jaswant Singh, a member of the ruling house of Partabgarh, named Dalpat Singh, administered the state as an adopted heir on the condition that he would succeed to the throne in the event of the death of the Maharawal without a son. After some years, on the unexpected deaths in the ruling family of his parent state, Dalpat Singh accepted the throne of Partabgarh with the British consent. Therefore, when the Maharawal died without any son, the chiefs of Dungarpur agitated for the maintenance of their ancestral state as a separate entity.

This issue brought four questions to the fore :

(*i*) Merger of Dungarpur with Partabgarh, (*ii*) Maintenance of separate administration for the two states under a common ruler; (*iii*) Lapse of Dungarpur to the British territories; (*iv*) Selection of another ruler for the state.

In resolving this intricate issue of succession several problems cropped up. Claims and counter-claims were raised. The Maharana of Udaipur put forth the claims of his family. The ruling family of Partabgarh had its own claims. The Paramount Power contemplated annexation of the state. In these conflicting circumstances pros and cons of all the possible solutions were fully considered and ultimately a member of the kith and kin of the ruling family of Dungarpur was selected as Maharawal with the British consent and the state was allowed to continues as a separate political entity.

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THE 1857 REVOLUTION IN ASSAM

(*Summary*)

SHRI K. N. DUTT

In 1857 Assam was administered as a Division of Bengal and was in the charge of a Commissioner. Colonel Jenkins was at this time the Commissioner of Assam. When the great conflagration of the mutiny of native troops spread from station to station in Upper and Central India and shook the foundations of the E.I. Company's rule in India, comparatively quieter conditions prevailed in this part of India. But all was not quiet on the eastern front, although Jenkins reported to the Supreme Government at Calcutta from time to time that there was not much cause for anxiety. There is no doubt that this eastern-most province of Assam, a late acquisition of the British in India—it having come to their possession only in 1826—situated as it was at a great distance from the nerve-centre of the Company's power and domination in India, did not provide an immediate cause for alarm to the authorities of the Company. But even here a situation arose towards the close of 1857 which, but for the unfortunate leakage of information regarding a well-planned and carefully organised plot to overthrow the Company's rule in Assam and re-instate a scion of the old Ahom royal family on the throne, could have assumed serious proportions endangering the British hold on the whole Eastern Frontier.

Maniram Dutt Dewan, a great Assamese of those times, a man with a keen sense of the evils of alien rule imposed on Assam which he had exposed already in a document of searching analysis in 1853, was the engineer of this plot.

The object of the plot was to do away with all Company's Officers in Assam on a particular day during the Durga Puja of 1857 according to a preconcerted plan and instal Kandarpeswar Singha, Saring Raja, grandson of Raja Purandar Singha of Upper Assam who was deposed by the British in 1838, on the throne of Assam. Disaffection against the British which incited native armies to revolt elsewhere in Behar and Upper India had spread also to the troops of the Assam Light Infantry stationed at Dibrugarh, not far from Jorhat, the residence of Kandar-

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peswar Singha and native officers of this army were lending secret support to the plot. Maniram was at Calcutta early in 1857, representing the case of the disinherited prince Kandarpeswar before the Supreme Government of the Company when the standard of rebellion was raised by the native troops at Meerut, Delhi, Kanpur, Jagdispur and other places. Maniram saw his chance, and wrote letters to the Saring Raja and his supporters in Assam exhorting them to make preparations for a revolt in Assam. Accordingly preparations were made on a scale that had every chance of success. But some of these letters were intercepted by the local officers of the Company, and they revealed the plot before it could mature. The officers took immediate steps to arrest Kandarpeswar Singha and his other supporters in Assam. Maniram Dewan was arrested in Calcutta and brought to Assam under a guard of a hundred European naval troops for trial.

A mockery of a trial was held at Sibsagar by Capt. Holroyd, District Magistrate of Sibsagar, on 23rd February 1858 under Act XIV of 1857 and Maniram was condemned to death by hanging on charges of treason and conspiracy to wage war against the constituted authority of the Company. The Dewan was publicly hanged at Jorhat on the 26th February 1858 along with his principal associate Mahesh Chandra Barua alias Peali Barua who had been earlier tried and sentenced to death on similar charges. Holroyd himself executed the sentences. Thus Maniram and Peali became martyrs to the cause of freedom in Assam in the great upheaval of 1857 which has been called India's First War of Independence. Severe punishments including transportation for life to the Andamans were meted out to a good number of other supporters and sympathisers and Kandarpeswar Singha was interned for a long time at Calcutta and Burdwan and later at Gauhati. Those suspected of treason in the army were court-martialled and the Hindusthani troops were broken up into small detachments and sent to distant outposts substituting Gurkhas in their place at Dibrugarh. Besides hundreds of rebel soldiers of the 34th and 37th N. I. Regiments who had entered Assam from Dacca and Chittagong were mercilessly shot down. Thus it would appear that Assam played no mean part in this First War of Independence of India.

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ALI KUREEM A SCHOLAR-SOLDIER OF BIHAR DURING THE MOVEMENT OF 1857—59

(*Summary*)

SHRI Q. AHMAD

The life and career of Maulvi Ali Kureem, a prominent leader of Bihar in the Movement of 1857-59, has been studied on the basis of contemporary English and Persian records. It will be seen that even during his exile from Bihar, Ali Kureem tried to act in concert with the two foremost leaders of Bihar—Amar Singh and Hurkishen Singh, with a view to a united plan of campaign againsts the English, but certain external factors, beyond his control, thwarted the successful completion of his proposed moves.

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BABBAR AKALI MOVEMENT

1921—23

(*Summary*)

PROF. KIRPAL SINGH

The ' release ' and eventual return of Ali Kureem to his birth place was a protracted affair. The Government's attitude, in the affairs, was characterised by vindictiveness. Even though the Government was forced to drop the prosecution against him, for want of sufficient proofs, they refused to give him a formal acquittal which would have entitled him to restoration of his valuable properties. On the contrary, the continued confiscation of his property was upheld on a patently futile justification.

The Babbar Akali Movement was an underground terrorist movement which sprang up as the result of Government's violent suppression of non-violent Akalis during Nanakana Tragedy (Feb. 21, 1921) and Guru Ka Bagh struggle (September 1922). The returned emigrants from U.S.A. and Canada who had come to India with the members of the Ghadr Party formed the nucleus of this movement.

Government's repressive policy led some Akalis who were absconders to form Babbar Akali Jatha (group) with the aims of overthrowing the Government by means of armed revolution. Kishan Singh an ex-military man and Master Mota Singh were the most prominenet members of this group.

In order to prepare ground for revolution Babbar Akalis took extensive tours in the territory of Doab-area between the rivers Sutlej and the Beas. They also started a newspaper entitled *Babar Akali Doab* Government in order to counteract their propaganda formed peace committees at various places and also advertised prizes for the arrest of the Babbar Akalis. Some persons like Bishan Singh Zaildar, Hazara Singh Numberdar, Subedar Gainda Singh and Atta Mohammad Patwari, who tempted by the prizes helped the police for the arrest of Babbar Akalis were killed by Babbar Akalis. Govern-

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ment was much alarmed and moved to Doab two squadrons of cavalry and two companies of infantry besides raising three hundred special police constables in June 1923.

Babbar Akalis were either arrested or killed one by one. When arrested, Dhana Singh, a Babbar Akali, killed himself along with five police constables and Mr. F. A. Horton, Superintendent of Police, Hoshiarpur by exploding a bomb which he had concealed in his clothes.

Ninety-one Babbar Akali were brought to trial on 24th March, 1924. Six were executed, eleven were transported for life and thirty-eight were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

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APPENDICES

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

Annual Report, 1957

Though overburdened with numerous engagements, I have tried my best to serve the Indian History Congress, in my own humble way, with the kind co-operation and assistance of my friends, the members of the Indian History Congress. But I am fully conscious of various limitations for which I crave indulgence of my esteemed colleagues.

The report of the Committee, set up for the control and management of the comprehensive History of India scheme, will be presented to you by its Secretary. I would fervently appeal to all to make earnest efforts for publication of the volumes planned in this scheme. It is a matter of considerable gratification that Volume 2 of our scheme has been published. For this we must express sincere thanks to the Publication Committee.

I am glad to let you know that notwithstanding many handicaps we have been able to publish the Proceedings of the Session 1956. To bring out volumes of our Proceedings was indeed an onerous and difficult task, particularly because of lack of funds. Fortunately, we have been able to publish our Proceedings volumes up to date.

The total number of our members is, 237 of which 52 are life members. We have one new life member this year.

The Treasurer will give you an idea of the financial position of the Association. Our total income from membership fees is not sufficient to meet the expenses of the printing of Proceedings.

Annual membership fee has been raised to Rs. 15/- and life membership fee to Rs. 200/-. But our financial position still remains very unsatisfactory. The Executive Committee may kindly consider some measures to improve it. I would like to submit that in view of the growing work of the Association, it is almost impossible to carry on the Secretary's work with the help of only a part time typist.

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We are profoundly grateful to Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth and Charutar Vidya Mandal for kindly inviting us to hold this session at Vallabh Vidyanagar. I am also indebted to the Local Reception Committee and the Local Secretary, for making the necessary arrangements for the session of the Congress. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Dr. N. N. Law, President of the Indian History Congress, to our Vice-Presidents Dr. R. C. Majumdar and MM. D. V. Potdar, and members of the Executive Committee for the kindness and help I have received from them.

While retiring now from the Secretaryship of the Indian History Congress, I would wish this institution success in all respects. I have every hope that it will flourish through the earnest efforts of my worthy successor.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

VALLABH VIDYANAGAR,
30th December, 1957.

TWENTIETH SESSION, 1957, VALLABH VIDYANAGAR

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1956

I herewith present the report of the income and expenditure of the Indian History Congress Association for the year ending 31st December 1956. The total membership stood at 303 including 51 Life Members. Only one Life Member was enrolled during the session. The membership of the Indian History Congress is gradually falling, up to 20th December 1957 there were only 52 life members and 227 ordinary members.

The Congress has to devise some ways to improve the situation, as membership fee is the only regular source of income for the Association. The year under review opened with Rs. 14,05-0-6 as Cash in hand, Rs. 4,665-14-6 in current account, so the opening balance was Rs.6,070/15 only. This includes R. 5,000/- of Duggar's Fund set apart for specific purpose. There is in Fixed Deposit Rs. 2,917/6.

The total receipts during the year under review including the opening balance and the fixed deposit amount came to Rs. 17,997/- of this, Rs. 3,795/- came from membership fee, Rs. 4,000/- from Government of India and Rs. 1,000/- from Dorabji Tata Trust for the publication of the arrear volumes of the Proceedings of the Congress. The total expenditure during the period amounted to Rs. 6,921-14-9, of

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which Rs. 4,169/4 were spent in the publication of Ahmedabad volume, Rs. 675/- towards salary, Rs. 197/10 towards postage and Rs. 468-8-6 towards printing and stationery, and rest in other items (*vide* Balance Sheet).

So on 31st December 1956, the Congress accounts stood as follows : Rs. 1,136/9 Cash in hand, Rs. 8,015-5-3 in Current Account with the State Bank of India, and Rs. 2,923/3 in Fixed Deposit.

We have succeeded in bringing the publication of the Proceedings of the Congress up-to-date. But this can be maintained only if we increase the number of our members, life members and Patrons, as the income from membership fee is not proving sufficient to meet the expenses of the Congress, including the publication of its annual proceedings.

In the end I thank the members of the Executive Committee and the members of the Association for the kind cooperation that they have extended during my terms of office of the treasurer of the Congress for the last three years. Whatever success has been achieved is entirely due to them. I crave the indulgence of the members for any shortcomings on my part. I can only assure them that I have tried to serve the Association with the best of my ability, and I wish my successor richer laurels.

B. P. SINHA,
Treasurer

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the Year ending 31st December, 1956

RECEIPTS

		Rs.	a.	p.
To	Opening Balance :			
	Cash in hand	1,405	0	6
	With State Bank of India :			
	In Current Account	4,665	14	6
	In Fixed Deposit	2,917	6	0
,,	Subscription	3,795	0	0
,,	Life Membership	200	0	0
,,	*Ad hoc* grant from the Government of India Ministry of Education, New Delhi	4,000	0	0
,,	Donation for Publication from Dorabji Tata Trust Bombay	1,000	0	0
,,	Received from Members Bank collection charges	7	14	0
,,	Interest on Fixed Deposit per estimate up to 16th January 1956, and 5th April 1956, being the last dates of renewal and/or encashment	5	13	0
	Total ...	17,997	0	0

PAYMENTS

		Rs.	a.	p.
By	Postage and Telegram	197	10	0
,,	Miscellaneous Expenses	128	2	0
,,	Travelling Allowance	133	13	0
,,	Printing and Stationery	468	8	6
,,	Salary	675	0	0
,,	Publication Charges	4,169	4	0
,,	Subscription Cheque returned	15	6	0
,,	Bank Charges Paid	20	3	3
,,	Audit Fee	50	0	0
,,	Advance Refunded	15	0	0
,,	Furniture	49	0	0
,,	Closing Balance :			
	Cash in hand	1,136	9	0
	With State Bank :			
	In Current Account	8,015	5	3
	In Fixed Deposit	2,923	3	0
	Total ...	17,997	0	0

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Income and Expenditure Statement for the Year Ending 31st December, 1956

EXPENDITURE		Rs.	a.	p.	INCOME		Rs.	a.	p.
To	Postage and Telegram	197	10	0	By	Life Membership	200	0	0
,,	Miscellaneous Expenses	128	2	0	,,	Subscription	3,780	0	0
,,	Travelling Allowance	133	13	0	,,	*Ad hoc* grant from the Government of India Ministry of Education, New Delhi for Publication ...	4,000	0	0
,,	Printing and Stationery	468	8	6	,,	Donation for Publication from Dorabji Tata Trust Bombay	1,000	0	0
,,	Salary	675	0	0	,,	Bank collection charges received	7	8	0
,,	Publication Charges	4,169	4	0					
,,	Bank Charges	20	3	3					
,,	Audit Fee	50	0	0					
,,	Balance being excess of Income over Expenditure Transferred to Fund Account	3,144	15	3					
	Total ...	8,987	8	0		Total ...	8,987	8	0

Patna, 21st October, 1957.

S. N. DATTA & Co.,
Chartered Accountant.

B. P. SINHA,
Treasurer.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

Please refer to our report on the Balance Sheet as at 31st December 1956 enclosed.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Balance Sheet as at 31*st December*, 1956

GENERAL FUND	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
As per last account	1,225	15	0	*Cash in Hand*			
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure	3,144	15	8	As certified	1,136	9	0
	4,370	14	8	*State Bank of India*			
Dugar Rajasthan Fund	5,000	0	0	In Current account as certified	8,015	5	3
Reserve Fund	2,923	3	0	In Fixed Deposit for reserve fund *vide* Receipt No. E79245 and E79359	2,923	3	0
Advance	40	0	0	*Advance* (old dues)	210	0	0
				Furniture	49	0	0
Total ...	12,334	1	8	Total ...	12,334	1	8

AUDITOR'S REPORT

We have checked the above statement with the Cash Book and Vouchers of the Indian History Congress.

It is to be noted that Dugar Rajasthan Fund and Reserve Fund have been maintained at last year figures. Interet on Dugar Rajasthan Fund Rs. 5,000/- has not been earned because the amount, had been kept in current account of State Bank of India. Fixed Deposit Receipts have been shown, and Interest on Fixed Deposit has not been accounted for in Cash Book, but we have taken Rs. 5-13-0 interest on the estimate as shown in the Income and Expenditure Statement. The *Ad hoc* Grant from the Government of India Ministry of Education, New Delhi, has been utilised for publication charges as shown in the Income and Expenditure Statement.

We further report that the Balance Sheet and the annxed Statements of Receipts and Payments and Income and Expenditure Accounts have been drawn up in accordance wih the books and papers of the Indian History Congress, and the information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by its Cash Book. In our opinion the adavnce of Rs. 210/- should have been realised by now; one cheque of Rs. 15/6/- is reported to have been returned to the party, and his membership is reported to have been terminated; thus the subscription income is reduced by it.

Patna, 21*st October*, 1957.

S. N. DATTA & CO.,
Chartered Accountant.

B. P. SINHA,
Treasurer.

K. K. DATTA
Secretary.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Vallabh Vidyanagar Session 1957

Draft Budget Estimates for 1957 *and* 1958

	Income			*Estimates for* 1958		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Life Membership fee	200	0	0	200	0	0
Membership fee	3,750	0	0	4,500	0	0
Sale of Proceedings	60	0	0	100	0	0
Interest on Fixed Deposit	35	0	0	40	0	0
	4,045	0	0	4,840	0	0

Expenditure

	1957			1958		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	700	0	0	700	0	0
Printing of Proceedings...	4,000	0	0	4,000	0	0
Postage	400	0	0	400	0	0
Stationery	100	0	0	100	0	0
Printing of circulars etc.	400	0	0	400	0	0
Bank Commission	30	0	0	30	0	0
Audit charge	50	0	0	50	0	0
Miscellaneous	100	0	0	100	0	0
Travelling Allowances	100	0	0	100	0	0
	5,880	0	0	5,880	0	0

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AGRA SESSION 1956

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held at Agra on 25th December, 1956 at 3-30 p.m. Dr. N. N. Law presided.

The following members was present :—

Dr. R. C. Majumdar	Dr. G. C. Roy Chaudhry
Dr. Moti Chand	Dr. G. M. Moraes
Dr. A. D. Pusalkar	Dr. P. C. Gupta
MM. D. V. Potdar	Dr. A. C. Banerjee
Shri S. K. Saraswati	Dr. K. K. Datta, (*Secretary*)
Shri K. N. Dutt	Dr. R. R. Sethi (*Jt.Secretary*)
Mr. Khawaja Muhammad Ahmed	Dr. B. P. Sinha, (*Treasurer*)

1. Minutes of the last meeting of the Executie Committee was confirmed.

2. The Secreary's report was approved.

3. The report of the Secretary of the India Publication Committee was approvd.

4. The statement of accounts of the India History Publication Committee was approved.

5. The statement of accounts for 1955 was approved.

6. The Budget estimate for 1957 was approved.

7. Office Bearers for 1957.

President	...	...	...	Dr. N. N. Law
Vice-Presidents	...	...	...	Dr. R. C. Majumdar
				MM. D. V. Potdar
Secretary	...	...	...	Dr. K. K. Datta
Jt. Secretary	...	...	...	Dr. R. R. Sethi
Ireasurer	...	...	...	Dr. B. P. Sinha

8. *General President*: Snri Jawahar Lal Nehru be requested to accepted Presidentship for the next session of the Congress.

Sectional Presidents :

Section I. (Ancient India) Shri C. Sivaramamurti, Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi.

Section II. (Medieval India) Shri Mahibal Hasan, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Section III. (Modern India) Dr. S. P. Sen, 5A, Motilal Nehru Road, Calcutta 29.

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9. M/s. S. N. Datta & Co. Chartered Accountant, Patna were appointed to audit accounts for the year 1956.

10. (*a*) Resolution of Shri P. N. Mukherjee not accepted.

(*b*) Leter of Prof. Oturkar read and it was decided that the teachers already engaged in teaching of the Indian History may be invited from outside India.

11. Venue of the next session of the Congress to be settled by the President.

12. Secretary is requested to write to the Railway authorities about privileges in railway journey for the members of the Indian History Congress.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary

N. N. LAW,
President

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held at 2 p.m. on the 26th December, 1956, at Agra.

Dr. N. N. Law presided.

The following members were present :—

1. Shri S. P. Sen
2. Smt. Bela Lahiri
3. Smt. Sudha Sen Gupta
4. Shri A. N. Lahiri
5. Shri M. O. Kokil
6. Shri A. K. Narain
7. Shri H. L. Gupta
8. Shri Khwaja Muhammd Ahmed
9. Shri Y. Vittal Rao
10. Shri P. C. Sen
11. Shri S. K. Mitra
12. Shri V. S. Suri
13. Shri Ram Sharma
14. Shri Hira Lall Chopra
15. Shri Sukumar Roy
16. Shri Adhir Kumar Chakrvarti
17. Shri Sitaram Singh
18. Shri S. N. Sen
19. Shri H. Ali
20. Shri R. V. Oturkar
21. Shri Krishan Lal
22. Shri P. R. Gokhale
23. Shri S. S. Patwardhan
24. Shri B. Sheik Ali
25. Shri R. S. Sharma
26. Shri H. D. Velankar
27. Shri A. D. Pusalker
28. Shri B. S. Bhatnagar
29. Shri A. C. Banerjee
30. Shri D. G. Mahajan
31. Shri M. Rama Rao
32. Shri P. Sree Rama Sarma
33. Shri G. P. Sarkar
34. Shri J. M. Unvala
35. Shri A. H. Nizami
36. Shri B. K. Singh
37. Shri Kalyan K. Ganguli
38. Shri D. P. Ghosh

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39. Shri P. N. Khera
40. Shri K. N. Dutt
41. Shri V. G. Hatalkar
42. Shri S. K. Saraswati
43. Shri M. M. Nagar
44. Shri Parmanand
45. Shri S. N. Gupta
46. Shri G. C. Verma
47. Shri Dasharatha Sharma
48. Shri M. R. Majumdar
49. Shri S. N. Varma
50. Shri G. N. Sharma
51. Shri V. D. Rao
52. Shri Vidyadhar Mahajan
53. Shri Sudhakar Chattopadyaya
54. Shri H. K. Barpujari
55. Shri Madhusudan Mallik
56. (Dr. (Miss) P. C. Dharma
57. MM. D. V. Potdar
58. Shri Bisheshwar Prasad
59. Shri Kripal Singh
60. Shri G. M. Moraes
61. Shri K. L. Thaper
62. Shri P. S. Mathur
63. Shri R. P. Dube
64. Shri S. D. Gyani
65. Shri Radha KrishnaSharma
66. Miss Sarojini Regani
67. Smt. Kamlal Sethi
68. Shri J. N. Banerjee
69. Shri Nemai Sadhan Bose
70. Shri G. C. Roy Chudhury
71. Shri Nalinaksha Datta
72. Shri S. R. Das
73. Shri P. C. Gupta
74. Shri Bratindra K. S. Gupta
65. Shri Jagan Nath
76. Shri K. H. Kamdar
77. Shri P. C. Mustafi
78. Dr. K. K. Datta
79. Dr. B. P. Sinha
80. Dr. R. R. Sethi

The following condolence resolutions were moved from the chair and passed, all standing :—

(a) *Resolved* that this XIXth Session of the Indian History Congress records its profound sense of grief at the death of Dr. F. W. Thomas, who made immensely valuable contributions in the different fields of Indology.

Resolved that a copy of the resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

(b) *Resolved* that this XIXth Session of the Indian History Congress records its profound sense of sorrow at the sad and sudden demise of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, who was the General President of the Ahmadabad Session of the Indian History Congress.

Resolved that a copy of the resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

(c) *Resolved* that this XIXth Session of the Indian History Congress records deep sense of sorrow at the death of Dr. Indu Bhuson Banerjee, who was one of the past Sectional Presidents of the Congress.

Resolved that a copy of the resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

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(d) *Resolved* that this XIXth Session of the Indian History Congress records deep sense of sorrow at the death of Shri G. C. Tambe, a member of the Congress.

Resolved that a copy of the resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

(e) *Resolved* that this XIXth Session of the Indian History Congress records deep sense of sorrow at the death of Dr. P. C. Bagchi.

Resolved that a copy of the resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

(f) *Resolved* that this XIXth Session of the Indian History Congress records deep sense of sorrow at the death of Shri H. L. Srivastava

Resolved that a copy of the resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

1. The Minutes of the last meting were confirmed.

2. The General Secretary placed the Annual Report of the Association for the year 1956.

Resolved that the report be accepted.

3. The Treasurer placed the income and expenditure statement for the year 1955.

Resolved that the income and expenditure statement be accepted.

4. The Treasurer presented the Budget estimate for the year 1957.

Resolved that the Budget estimate be adopted.

5. The Secretary, History of India Publication Committee, read his report which was accepted.

6. The Budget estimate of the History of India Publication Committee for 1957 was presented.

Resolved that the Budget estimate be accepted.

7. The President reported the election of Office-bearers for 1957 and the President and Sectional Presidents for the 20th session.

President	... ...	Dr. N. N. Law
Vive-Presidents	... ...	Dr. R. C. Majumdar
		MM. D. V. Potdar
Secretary	... ...	Dr. K. K. Datta
Jt. Secretary	... ...	Dr. R. R. Sethi
Treasurer	... ...	Dr. B. P. Sinha

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General President ... ... Shri Jawaharlal Nehru be requested to accept Presidentship for the next session of the Congress.

Sectional Presidents :

Section I. (Ancient India) Shri C. Sivaramamurti, Keeper of the National Museum, New Delhi.

Section II. (Medieval India) Shri Mohibbul Hasan, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Section III. (Modern India) Dr. S. P. Sen, Calcutta.

8. The Indian History Congress Association elected the following members to the Executive Committee :—

1. Dr. A. C. Banerjee
2. Dr. P. C. Gupta
3. Dr. M. Rama Rao
4. Dr. S. N. Sen
5. Dr. Moti Chandra
6. Dr. S. P. Sen
7. Dr. Sukumar Roy
8. Dr. Golap Chandra Ray Chaudhury
9. Dr. V. G. Hatalkar
10. Dr. V. G. Dighe
11. Dr. A. S. Altekar
12. Mr. K. M. Ahmed
13. Dr. A. L. Srivatsava
14. Shri Ram Sharma

9. The venue of the next session of the Indian History Congress will be settled by the President.

10. Letter of Prof. Oturkar read and it was decided that teachers engaged in teaching Indian History outside be invited to the Indian History Congress at its Annual Sessions but expenses will not be paid by the Cogress.

11. *Publication Committee* :—Principal Sri R. Sharma made a suggestion for giving Copies of Proceedings of the volume of Comprehensive History of India to the members of the Indian History Congress at concession price.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad suggested that the matter should be taken into careful consideration. Shri Paramanand spoke in favour of Principal Sharma's suggestion.

Finally it was *resolved* that " This Congress recommends to the Publication Committee for giving copies of the Comprehensive History of India at a concession rate to the members of the Indian History Congress."

Dr. N. N. Law
President

Dr. K. K. Datta
Secretary.

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HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

SECRETARY'S REPORT, 1957

Volume II of *Comprehensive History of India* has been published. Final editing of Vols. III and IX will be taken up when the editors, Dr. R C. Majumdar and Dr. S. N. Sen, return after completion of their assignments in the U.S.A.

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Secretary.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Statement of Account of the Publication Committee of the Indian History Congress Association for the period from 1st April, 1956, to 31st March, 1957

Receipts and Payments for the period from 1st April, 1956 to 31st March, 1957.

	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
To payment to contributors	700	0	0	By Balance brought forward	1,07,718	7	9
„ Postage and Stationery	19	8	0	„ Interest	1,050	0	0
„ Establishment	800	0	0	„ Miscellaneous Income	67	14	0
„ Audit Fee	100	0	0				
„ Rent	450	0	0				
„ Balance	1,06,766	13	9				
Total	1,08,836	5	9	Total	1,08,836	5	9

Details of Balance Carried forward (Assets)

	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Cash in Hand	2	2	9	2	2	9
2. *With Imperial Bank of India—Delhi*						
Current Account	1,004	11	3			
Fixed Deposit Account	70,000	0	0	71,004	11	3
3. *Advances* :						
(*a*) With Indian History Congress	6	5	0			
(*b*) With Delhi Office	24	13	0			
(*c*) With Calcutta Office	728	13	9			
(*d*) With Orient Longmans Ltd.	35,000	0	0	35,759	15	9
				1,06,766	13	9

Sd/- BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
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Budget Estimates for 1957-58

	Rs.
Office Expenses (Calcutta & Delhi)	3,000.00
Travelling Expenses	2,000.00
Payment to Editors and Contributors	5,000.00
Postage and Stationery	200.00
Miscellaneous	500.00
Provision for vol. III	35,000 00
Total ...	45,700.00

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Well-preserved image of Bodhi-Sattva holding garlands. The pedestal bears a Brahmi inscription 'Vishṇunā' (Sculptor's name)

Recently found at Mathura : time 2nd cent. A.D.

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Couple on the recently found coping stone from Mathura.

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Panel showing couple on the new pillar from Mathura.

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